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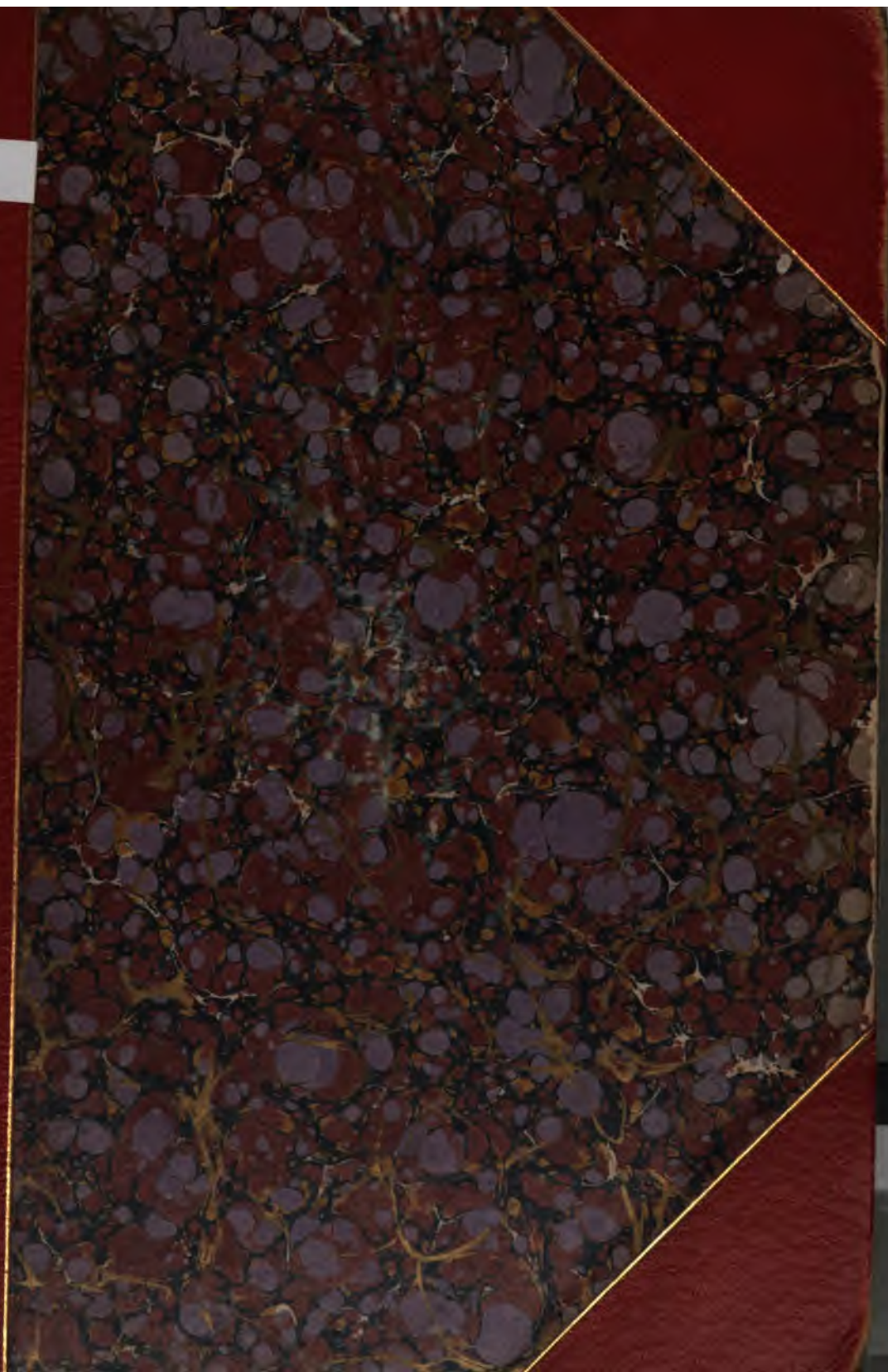
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SIR FERDINANDO GORGES

AND HIS

93431

PROVINCE OF MAINE.

INCLUDING

THE BRIEF RELATION, THE BRIEF NARRATION, HIS
DEFENCE, THE CHARTER GRANTED TO HIM,
HIS WILL, AND HIS LETTERS.

EDITED WITH A

MEMOIR

AND

HISTORICAL ILLUSTRATIONS

BY

JAMES PHINNEY BAXTER, A.M.

VOL. I.

Boston:

PUBLISHED BY THE PRINCE SOCIETY.

1890.

Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year 1889, by
THE PRINCE SOCIETY,
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THE
Publications of the Prince Society.

Established May 25th, 1858.

SIR FERDINANDO GORGES

AND

HIS PROVINCE OF MAINE.



Boston:
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Wm. A. L.



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P R E F A C E.

SEVERAL years ago I was invited by the Prince Society to prepare a monograph upon the life and works of Sir Ferdinando Gorges. No work of this nature and no original documents relating to this noted man were known to exist in English archives, save some papers in the British Museum, which exhibited his connection with the Essex rebellion; indeed, a relative of the family, in reply to an inquiry respecting the subject, had declared, in the *London Notes and Queries*, that, although he had endeavored to investigate the family history, he doubted "whether any original papers of Sir Ferdinando are now extant." This was not encouraging, since the writer in the *London Notes and Queries* was apparently better situated to discover such papers, if any existed, than any one could be in America. Deciding to undertake the work, I began by copying original references to the subject wherever I could find them in America. These were not numerous, and for a while I felt that the field upon which I had entered was a barren one; but I had in my plan a personal search through foreign archives,
public

public and private, and with this purpose in view I visited England in the summer of 1885.

My first work was in the British Museum, where I examined every manuscript and every printed book of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries relating in any way to America; and my next was in the Office of the Public Records, where I examined all the official correspondence and documents of the period mentioned relating to Colonial and State affairs.

My labor in these great historical mines was rewarded beyond my expectations, and I soon had a considerable collection of papers relating to the subject which I had in hand. Plymouth, Bristol, Wraxall, Ashton, Arundel House, Littlecote, Lambeth Palace, the Bodleian Library, Thirlstane House, and other places were to be visited, and their archives and those in the vicinity searched; and, above all, the correspondence of Sir Robert Cecil, the chief secretary of Elizabeth and James, was to be examined. At the end of a year I found myself in possession of nearly two hundred manuscripts, a large portion of which were copies of letters which bore the signature of Sir Ferdinando Gorges. I need not say that I felt myself rewarded for the time, labor, and expense which they had cost me.

I desire here to record my grateful acknowledgments to friends abroad and at home for numerous favors which I have received.

First, I must mention the late Rev. Frederick Browne, of Beckenham, Kent, who not only placed valuable materials at my disposal, which aided me in the preparation of my Genealogical Notes on the Gorges family, but gave me
me

me important instruction respecting the sources from which information regarding Sir Ferdinando Gorges might be derived. This noble man took a deep interest in my work, and rejoiced at every discovery which I made; but before I left England his death occurred, to the great grief of all who had ever come under the influence of his genial and generous spirit.

To the Marquis of Salisbury and his private secretary, Mr. R. T. Gunton, I am greatly indebted. The former generously gave me the *entrée* to Hatfield House, and permission to examine and make extracts from his invaluable collection of ancient manuscripts, and the latter devoted much time in searching and transcribing for me.

I am also under obligations to Mr. Anthony Gibbs, the present owner of Charlton Manor, who showed me much kindness in giving me access to ancient papers of the Gorges family, and in furnishing me with photographs of the manor house and interior; as well as to the Rev. E. S. Vaughan, rector of Wraxall; William George, Esq., of Bristol; and W. H. K. Wright, the well-known editor of the *Western Antiquary*, who devoted valuable time in making me acquainted with the antiquities of Plymouth, as did likewise Mr. John Whitmarsh, the enthusiastic and tireless antiquary of Devonport.

Mr. Stephen J. Tucker, the Somerset Herald at Arms, also deceased, and his assistant, Mr. Ernest A. Ebbelwhite, rendered valuable aid in determining the arms of Sir Ferdinando, which had long been a subject of inquiry.

I am indebted to Mr. Henry Kensington, of the British Museum, and, especially, to that kind friend of American students

students in London, Mr. W. Noël Sainsbury, of the Public Records Office; likewise to Mr. B. F. Stevens, who is as prompt as he is able to assist his countrymen in their historical researches in Europe; and to Mr. E. J. Phelps, our minister to the court of St. James, who procured for me, from the Colonial Office, privileges which greatly facilitated my researches in the public archives of London.

At home, I have received favors from Dr. Charles E. Banks, Hubbard W. Bryant, John Ward Dean, and the Rev. Edmund F. Slafter. To the latter I am particularly indebted for a critical examination of my work as it has advanced, and for many valuable corrections and suggestions.

Though I was fortunate in finding so much material for the Memoir of Gorges, I fully realize how unfortunate I was in not finding more; but I cannot doubt that historical students will find in this monograph some slight contribution to American history.

J. P. B.

PORTLAND, MAINE,
61 DEERING STREET.





MEMOIR
OF
SIR FERDINANDO GORGES.



LERKENWELL, in the county of Middlesex, in 1568, was a picturesque rural hamlet, lying peacefully within a girdle of green fields and fresh groves. The gray walls of London, bright with emblazoned banners, were in plain view across a little stretch of meadow-land; and from its guarded gates merry crowds had often come to the ancient well, which gave the place its name, to witness the sacred dramas performed by the clerks of the religious houses near by, or to engage in rural sports away from the din and dust of the great town. Hither, too, often came the invalid, drawn by faith in the medicinal virtues of the wells which abounded in the vicinity; and departed in due time refreshed, benefited as much, maybe, by the air and quiet of the place as by its healing waters.

The sultry summer days had slipped by, one by one, until the 29th of August had come. When the day began,

Edward Gorges, then in the flush of manhood, having only attained the age of thirty-one years, was lying mortally ill in this old hamlet of Clerkenwell, where he was residing with his young family.¹ Life had opened to him full of promise. At the early age of twenty-one years, he became, by virtue of primogeniture, the possessor of the ancient patrimony of the Gorges family of Wraxall,² with all which that implied of wealth and honor; and later he had increased his influence by marriage with Cicely Lygon, who belonged to a Worcestershire family of distinction. On Sunday, the 10th of August, nineteen days before the date just mentioned, he had made a final disposition of his worldly possessions, and had since awaited death, which came ere the day

¹ For accounts of Clerkenwell, *vide A Survey of the Cities of London and Westminster*, by John Stow, edited by John Strype, 1720, Book IV. p. 64; *A New and Compleat History of London and Westminster*, etc., by Henry Chamberlain, p. 603. Edward Gorges was undoubtedly living in one of the old mansions of his family. Most families of wealth and distinction had their town houses, and Clerkenwell was a favorite place of residence for gentlemen desiring to take part in London life. We find Sir Ferdinando residing here in 1595, where his eldest son Robert was born on November 15th; and here, on July 30th, 1620, his son John Gorges, Esq., was married to Lady Frances Fynes, daughter of the Earl of Lincoln. Members of the Gorges family appear at Clerkenwell as early as 1567, there being a marriage record of John Gorges on the parish register of that date.

² "Wroxall or Wraxall, but in ancient writings Wrokeahale, the manor

and estate for a long time of the family of Gorges, who had their first seat here. Ralph de Gorges had summons among the Barons of this realm from 2d Edw. II. to the 16th of the same King; and his father Ralph, 4th Henry III., was made governor of Sherborne Castle and, a little after, of the castle of Exeter. Theobald de Gorges, the son of the former Ralph, was high sheriff of the county of Dorset, and this shire in the reign of King Edward III.; he also obtained of the same King a license for a market every week upon Thursday, at this his manor of Wrokeahale, and for a fair yearly upon the eve day and morrow of the feast of All Saints, and five days next following. None of the descendants of this family were summoned to Parliament after Ralph, Lord Gorges; but they have lived in the place for many successions, and but of late are reduced to a female heir, which will bring this seat into another family or be extinct." *Vide A Compleat History of Somerset, Sherborne*, 1742.

day ended ; and it was soon known in Clerkenwell, and by friends and acquaintances in the city beyond, that Edward Gorges of Wraxall was dead. Three days later, on the first day of September, his body was borne to the old parish church of St. James, Clerkenwell, where its ashes repose to-day, though Clerkenwell is now a part of the mighty metropolis.

His young widow was left with two sons: Edward, the elder, baptized September 5th, 1564, at Wraxall, and at the death of his father four years of age ; and Ferdinando, the record of whose birth or baptism has not yet come to light. It was at Wraxall that the Gorges family were wont to record their births, marriages, and deaths, as though they took especial pride in solemnizing these important family events there ; and the fact that the younger son's name is not to be found in the registers of the ancient parish church, so endeared to the family by long association, renders it probable that he was born at Clerkenwell while his father was lying sick there.* Like his predecessors, however, he is entitled as of Wraxall, the old manor of the Gorges family, which had then been in their possession for more than three centuries,

* The registers of St. James, Clerkenwell, are imperfect ; thus, in the first volume purporting to contain marriages, christenings, and burials from 1561 to 1653, no marriages are recorded until 1587 ; but bound into the volume are several leaves of marriages, christenings, and burials in a confused manner, and these interpolated leaves purport to be "A trewe note of suche Marriages, Christeninges and burialls as were founde in fundery boockes and papers after the makinge of this regefter boocke,

begyn'inge at the yeare of o' Lorde god 1551 vntill the yere of o' Lorde god 1578 as followeth." A glance at these leaves reveals the fact that lapses are frequent ; indeed, in one case, no record appears for a period of eight years. There can be no doubt that this volume is a compilation from a more ancient register. It is therefore quite possible that the christening of Ferdinando Gorges took place here and was not recorded, or if recorded that the record was lost.

centuries, having come to them through the marriage of Ralph de Gorges with the heiress of Richard de Wrokefhale, the early possessor of the manor to which the family name attached, and which in time became abbreviated to Wraxall. The family of Gorges itself derived its name from a hamlet in Lower Normandy, near Carentan. It was from this hamlet that Ranolph de Gorges came in the year 1066 to the conquest of England.

Left by the death of her husband with the sole charge of two young children, it became the chief duty of Cicely Gorges to rear and educate them; and although she subsequently became the wife of John Vivian, and thereby assumed new responsibilities, we have reason to believe that she fairly fulfilled her trust. Edward, we know, entered Hart's College, Oxford, in 1582; and it is reasonable to suppose, although we have no definite data respecting the education of Ferdinando, that he was not neglected, but was educated in a manner befitting the family importance.

The period during which Ferdinando Gorges was passing from youth to manhood was pregnant with events of world-wide importance; indeed, the year 1568, the date when this narrative begins, is set down by Camden as the year in which Puritanism began to assert itself in England; and he dates from this year the aggressive movement against the established order throughout the kingdom. The word "Puritanism," however, limited to a religious sense, is not sufficiently broad to designate properly the movement indicated, which embraced political as well as religious purification and reformation, although at times it seemed limited to mere cavil against ecclesiastical form and ceremony. Really
this

this movement comprehended much that Republicanism, following its best ideals, aims to achieve; hence the natural antagonism against it of the class claiming the divine right to rule. At this time the royal will was supreme; and the royal will was largely the will of those having access to the royal ear. Royalty and its counsellors disported themselves in an atmosphere of fraud, and pitilessly schemed to compass the cruelest ends. The annals of the times, however meagre, furnish ample proofs of the iniquity of those bearing rule; and the pictures they present are made more disagreeable by the fact that religion, whatever the "ism" which it assumed, was often used as a garb, both by rulers and their opponents, for Wrong to masquerade in. To attain any position of profit or trust, it was necessary to bribe some one in power. Even an honest cause, placed under the ægis of Justice, was at the mercy of some frivolous creature whose influence with the ruling power was for sale to the highest bidder.⁴ Elizabeth, a woman of superior intellect, had inherited all the traditions of her predecessors respecting the divine authority of sovereigns,

⁴ The prostitution of justice was open and unblushing. Mr. Glascock, in the Parliament of 1601, plainly stated that "a Justice of Peace is a living Creature, yet for half a Dozen of Chickens will dispense with a whole dozen of penal Statutes." On one occasion, Lady Edmonds, upon being applied to to exert her influence with the Queen in behalf of one of the litigants, refused an offer of one hundred pounds as too small a sum for so important a case. This kind of service, says Birch, "groweth by the queen's straitness to give

these women; whereby they presume thus to grange and huck causes;" and Fleetwood records: "It is growen for a trede nowe in the courte to make meanes for reprieves: twenty pounds for a reprieve is nothing, though it be but for bare ten days." *Vide Memoirs of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth*, by Thomas Birch, London, 1754, Vol. I. p. 354; *The Journals of all the Parliaments*, etc., by Sir Symonds d'Ewes, London, 1682, p. 661; *Queen Elizabeth and her Times*, by Thomas Wright, London, 1838, Vol. II. p. 247.

eigns, and seemed to have no pity for those who rebelled against her severe rule, or were supposed to have rebelled against it; indeed, upon one occasion at least, we are told, she consulted her counsellors upon the subject of protracting the torture so cruelly applied at this time "to the extremity of payne,"⁵ and, without apparent compunction of conscience,

⁵ The fiendish cruelties practised at this time in so-called Christian England would have disgraced savages. To give dramatic effect to the infernal show, a gallows was erected upon a platform high enough for those at a distance to witness all that took place. When the victims arrived, bruised and wrenched by being dragged over the rough pavements, and kicked and maltreated by the populace along the way, they saw before them the executioner, with halter, hatchet, and long sharp knife in his hand, awaiting them. Sticking in a block near a blazing fire were several sharp knives, while sharp-pointed stakes stood by the gallows, upon which to stick their heads. In the case of the fourteen men executed in the Babington conspiracy, several of whom were young men of fortune belonging to the best families in the kingdom, seven of them were swung off and instantly caught by their executioner, "their Privities cut off, their Bowels taken out before their Faces while they were alive, and their Bodies quartered." Their entrails were burned and their heads exposed upon stakes. Frenzied by this horrible carnival of cruelty, the executioner sometimes beckoned with bloody hands, and called his victims to come and take their turn. In the case of the Babington execution we are told, that the populace went "with earnest eie, present and purposing to tarrie out the verie last act." It is said that in one case the

operation of the knife was so protracted that "it was near half an hour before the sufferer was rendered entirely insensible of pain." Strangely enough, Hopkins, in his admirable work on the Puritans, while shuddering over these barbarities, most inconsistently takes time to administer a castigation to Dr. Lingard, the Roman Catholic historian, for quoting these words, "extremity of payne," without giving his authority, and not only leaves his reader to imply that Lingard maliciously and in cold blood invented the words, but likens him to an ass kicking a dead lion. Why the failure of the Roman Catholic to give his authority in so small a matter, small when compared with the weighty ones with which the Puritan was familiar, should have so stirred the choler of the latter, must be left to the reader to answer. Lingard did not invent the words, and should not have been accused of so doing without proof to substantiate the accusation. *Vide History of Elizabeth*, by William Camden, London, 1688, p. 344; *Cobbett's Complete Collection of State Trials*, London, 1809, Vol. I. pp. 1127-1162; *Curiosities of Literature*, by Isaac Disraeli, New York, 1881, Vol. II. pp. 351-353; *The History of England*, by John Lingard, Boston, 1883, Vol. V. p. 428; *Holingshed's Chronicles*, London, 1808, Vol. IV. pp. 914-920; *The Puritans*, by Samuel Hopkins, Boston, 1861, Vol. III. p. 120.

science, engaged as a silent partner in the iniquitous traffic in slaves, with all its concomitant cruelties.⁶ We have cast a glance behind the scenes, and beg the reader to look for a moment upon the side turned to the public view, that we may appreciate the influences which surrounded the English youth during the period in which Ferdinando Gorges was approaching manhood, and which must have tended

⁶ The state of the public conscience at this time is not only exemplified by the prostitution of justice and inhuman cruelty to those condemned for capital offences, but as well by the slave-trade, which was generally regarded as honorable. The Queen set the example in a partnership with Captain John Hawkins, which her subjects followed. Stow tells us, after speaking of Hawkins's education and early voyages, that he went "in the yere 1567, with some of the Queenes ships & some of his owne," and "did many excellent services in Guinea and the west Indies." Hawkins himself has left us a full account of this particular voyage and others, and tells us how he attacked towns, and after the slaughter of many of the people captured men, women, and children, and crowded them into the hold of his little ships, where they died in great numbers from the terrible sufferings to which they were subjected; but enough survived to make the voyage lucrative; and he piously assures us that "Almightie God, who never suffereth his elect to perish," finally gave him a northwest wind, which waisted him with his wretched cargo to a profitable port. Nor did the public conscience recover its proper tone with respect to this traffic for a long time. Even the Rev. John Newton was engaged in the slave-trade while associated with the gentle Cowper

in the preparation of the Olney Hymns, and says that it was "accounted a genteel employment and usually very profitable," and that he "never had the least scruple as to its lawfulness," and was "upon the whole satisfied with it;" though he acknowledges that more brutal atrocities were committed in the traffic in a single year, than were perpetrated during the entire period of the French Revolution. It was while engaged in this horrid traffic that he sought "frequent hours of divine communion" in the pleasant woods of Guinea, and upon one of these occasions restored to their "right owner" these lines, which had been addressed to his mistress by a heathen poet:—

"In desert woods with thee, my God,
Where human footsteps never trod,
How happy could I be!
Thou my repose from care, my light
Amidst the darkness of the night,
In solitude my company."

Vide Annals, or Generall Chronicle of Englande, by William Stow, London, 1631, p. 807; *The Hawkins' Voyages*, edited by Clements R. Markham, London, 1878, p. 25; *Life of Rev. John Newton*, Boston, 1825, pp. 358 *et seq.* 363; and *Address before the New England Historic Genealogical Society*, by Abner C. Goodell, Jr., February 5th, 1888.

tended to shape his thought and life, even if he was not so directly affected by them as some whose parents were attached to the Court, and took part in the scenes which Paul Hentzner so particularly delineates to us. After describing the gentleman usher with his chain of office, the Church and Government dignitaries who were awaiting the appearance of the Queen from her chamber, the Chancellor with his red silk purse containing the seals, the bearer of the royal sceptre and the sword of state, he introduces the Queen, sixty-five years of age, in gorgeous apparel, going to prayers, followed by her ladies especially selected for their beauty. As though she were a deity, no one ventured to address her without first falling upon his knees; and whenever she turned her face, those upon whom her glance fell dropped instantly upon their knees, as though unable to bear the glory of her countenance. But while she was at prayers, Hentzner says, "we saw her table set out with the following solemnity. A gentleman entered the room bearing a rod, and along with him another who had a tablecloth, which, after they had both knelt three times, with the utmost veneration he spread upon the table, and after kneeling again they both retired. Then came two others, one with the rod again, the other with a salt-cellar, a plate and bread; when they had knelt as the others had done, and placed what was brought upon the table, they too retired with the same ceremonies performed by the first. At last came an unmarried lady of extraordinary beauty (we were told that she was a countess), and along with her a married one, bearing a tasting-knife; the former was dressed in white silk, who, when she had prostrated herself three times, in the
most

most graceful manner approached the table, and rubbed the plates with bread and salt with as much awe as if the Queen had been present. When they had waited there a little while, the yeomen of the guard entered, bareheaded, clothed in scarlet, with a golden rose upon their backs, bringing in at each turn a course of twenty-four dishes, served in silver, most of it gilt; these dishes were received by a gentleman in the same order as they were brought, and placed upon the table, while the lady-taster gave to each of the guard a mouthful to eat of the particular dish he had brought, for fear of any poison. During the time that this guard, which consists of the tallest and stoutest men that can be found in all England, 100 in number, being carefully selected for this service, were bringing dinner, twelve trumpets and two kettle-drums made the hall ring for half an hour together. At the end of all this ceremonial a number of unmarried ladies appeared, who with particular solemnity lifted the meat off the table and conveyed it into the Queen's inner and more private chamber, where, after she had chosen for herself, the rest goes to the ladies of the Court."⁷

To keep up all this vain pomp; to make costly presents to pampered favorites at home and to conciliate wished-for allies abroad; to pension dependants, and accomplish multitudinous schemes of aggrandizement, required large sums of money, which had to be wrung from the class ruled.⁸ This class

⁷ *Vide England as seen by Foreigners*, by W. B. Rye, London, 1865, pp. 104-107.

⁸ Not only did the courtiers make costly presents to the Queen when she visited their houses, but upon New

Year's and saints' days; and also when they presented petitions to her from subjects. In turn she granted them monopolies, which were burdens to the people grievous to bear, and made them valuable presents. It was her

class was taught, as a religious tenet, that its rulers governed by a right bestowed upon them by the Supreme Ruler;⁹ and it had learned this so thoroughly, that it cherished loyalty to them as a fetish, regarding with open-mouthed admiration the costly pomp and ceremony of the Court, which it took pride in sustaining, though by doing so it went scantily clothed and fed. Not only did the Government rule its subjects in worldly matters, but through its ecclesiastical function or "estate," as it was denominated, assumed spiritual control over them as well. It presumed to intervene between them and their Heavenly Father, and to prescribe the manner in which they should serve him, making nonconformity to precise rules of action punishable to a degree which in some cases resulted even in death. At this point was revolt. Men who from inherited faith would never have questioned the divine right of their rulers to govern them in worldly matters, but would have gone on to the end of time to conform to their every requirement, revolted against them when they claimed the right to rule in spiritual affairs, and even carried their opposition beyond reasonable

her custom on New Year's day to send her favorites gifts of plate averaging from forty to fifty ounces each. To Hatton, whom she called her belwether, she always gave four hundred ounces. She had in her wardrobe between two and three thousand dresses, and possessed an immense quantity of jewelry, which she had mostly received as presents from courtiers. On one occasion, when the Archbishop of London attempted to turn her thoughts from such worldly riches to those of a heavenly nature, she threatened that if he meddled with that subject again she would fit him for heaven, and that he should

walk there without a staff and leave his mantle behind. *Vide Letters and Memorials of State*, Sydney Papers, by Arthur Collins, Esq., London, 1746, Vol. I. pp. 376 *et seq.*; *Nugæ Antiquæ*, by Sir John Harington, London, 1804, pp. 118-120.

⁹ Among many absurd evidences of this is the inscription upon the tomb of Sir John Hawkins, viz. : —

"England's Queen
Elizabeth, our head
Next unto Christ,
Of whom all princes hold
Their Scepters."



CONSTANS ET FIDELIS

COAT OF ARMS OF SIR FERDINANDO GORGES.

to take these influences into our account. Through the Champernouns, the family of Ferdinando Gorges was allied to those adventurous spirits, the Gilberts and Raleighs, and their exploits were familiar to him. It is not, however, until the year 1587 that Ferdinando Gorges again appears upon the historic scene, after the brief view we have of him, an infant, at his father's death-bed at Clerkenwell in 1568. The intervening period is a blank to us, so far as he is concerned; but this period, so full of important movements, we know must have influenced and moulded his character, and thus prepared him for the part in life which he was destined to perform.

The year 1587 is a noted one in English annals. Under a well-simulated desire for peace, both rulers pretending that friendly relations between them was the dearest wish of their hearts, while at the same time accusing each other of perfidy, the English Queen and the Spanish King were warring upon each other. The accomplishment of Elizabeth's design to bring the unfortunate Queen of Scots to the block was a new and potent reason why the Spanish monarch should prosecute the war with increased vigor; and he at once began preparations on a large scale for the invasion of English territory, whose Queen was denounced by the Spaniards as a murderess, and placed under the ban of the Church. But the Spanish King had on the sea, in Sir Francis Drake, an antagonist of wonderful skill and daring; and his successes in this war have been the theme of too many writers to make it profitable to rehearse them here. On the land the war was confined to the Netherlands, the government of which was in alliance with that of England;
and

and here the Spanish had the advantage. In the latter end of May the Duke of Parma laid siege to Sluys, garrisoned by Hollanders and Englishmen, with so much vigor as to cause the States to apply to the English throne for help; and in June the Queen despatched her supple favorite, Leicester, with reinforcements for its relief. Among these reinforcements were eight hundred soldiers, despatched from Flushing by Sir William Russell, who had succeeded Sir Philip Sydney in the government of that place. These troops were in command of "several eminent chieftains," of whom Ferdinando Gorges is mentioned as one.¹¹

At this date he could not have much passed the age of twenty-one years; and to have attained the rank of a captain, he must have been in the service for a considerable length of time. This is not improbable, as it was not uncommon for British youth to enter the army at the age of sixteen years, or even under; hence Gorges had doubtless already seen several years of active service. We know the fate of Sluys. Leicester pursued the deceptive diplomacy then in vogue; and although he made several apparently energetic attempts to relieve the besieged, Sluys was taken by the Spaniards at the end of June, and the English were accused by their allies of treachery. Whether Ferdinando Gorges was at this time taken prisoner, or became one in a subsequent battle, we cannot tell; but certain it is that he was a prisoner at Lisle in September, 1588, and efforts were being made to procure his release by exchange.¹² At this time

¹¹ *Vide* State Papers, Elizabeth, Public Records Office, London, CCXVI.

¹² *Vide* State Papers, Elizabeth, Pub-

lic Records Office, under date of September 5th, 1588, for the names of English prisoners in Spain and the Netherlands, whose

time the bones of Spain's proud Armada were lying scattered along the treacherous shores of Ireland and the isles of the northwest, while the Spanish people were telling their beads in despair at their terrible defeat. An exchange was soon effected, and Sir Ferdinando was again in the service of the Queen.

In August, 1589, Henry III. of France was assassinated; and his successor was obliged, before the Catholics would acknowledge his authority, to pledge himself not to permit the public exercise in the realm of any but the Roman Catholic form of worship, except in places where the Protestant form had already been established, and to bestow office, municipal and corporate, upon none but Catholics. This caused a revolt among his Protestant soldiers; and, weakened by the desertion of several regiments, he was obliged to retire from Paris, which he was besieging, into Normandy. Elizabeth now came to his assistance with money and men; and with his English reinforcements, he returned to the siege of Paris. Among these English recruits was Sir Ferdinando Gorges; and it was at this time, if we may credit Richard Vines, that he was wounded, and borne from a breach in the walls by the French king.¹⁸ Probably after his exchange,

whose friends in England desire to have Spanish prisoners to redeem them with. One of the principal Englishmen named is Sir Ferdinando Gorges, then a prisoner at Lille.

¹⁸ The following is an extract from Vines's letter to Governor Winthrop, dated at Saco, January 25th, 1640. Referring to Gorges, he says: "I have often heard him discourse of those warlike actions, and that the king of France

himself fetched him from a breach, being wounded, either at the siege of Amiens or before Paris, I know not whether." The siege of Amiens was in 1597, and we are able to account for Gorges during this year, as he was in command at Plymouth, while in 1589 we know him to have been engaged on the Continent, and this was the only siege of Paris during the time he was there. He himself says that he spilt
much

change, and before his return to the Continent, he was for a brief time at home; as we find, in a petition for an advance of money to repair Pendennis Castle in 1591, that two or three years before, he had inspected it with a view to its repair.¹⁴

The war with Spain still continued, but England held the coigne of vantage. Her ships, commanded by such men as Grenville, Borough, and Frobisher, made havoc with Spanish commerce, and brought "greate store of spoyle" into English ports. One of the commissioners who had the charge of this wealth was Sir Ferdinando Gorges. It was an office of great responsibility, and subjected those who held it to the animadversion and enmity of those in power. The greed of Elizabeth and her courtiers knew no bounds, and the wrangling over the plunder taken from the Spaniards was disgraceful. Early in 1592 Sir Walter Raleigh planned an expedition which was to waylay the treasure-laden carracks of Seville and sack the Spanish settlements at Panama, in which adventure he had, with his usual generosity, hazarded his entire estate,¹⁵ borrowing money right and left at usurious rates in order to equip his fleet properly. Having set sail, however, he was followed

and

much blood for the Queen. *Vide* Winthrop Papers, Massachusetts Historical Collections, Fourth Series, Vol. VII. p. 342; *History of Elizabeth*, by William Camden, London, 1688, p. 436.

¹⁴ *Vide* Petition of Sir John Killigrew to the Council, for the advance of money for repairing and fortifying Pendennis Castle and for its supply with men, guns, ammunition, etc. State Papers, Elizabeth, Public Records Of-

fice, CCXL. In this Petition is the following: "It was viewed two or three years past by *Sir Ferdinando Gorges*, who thought that by reason of the hill, the castle might be so fortified as to command the Blockhouse and the whole hill, or as much as might be offensive to the castle."

¹⁵ *Vide* Domestic Correspondence, Elizabeth, Public Records Office, CCXI.

and recalled to Court, and was soon caged by the Queen in the Tower, where she was wont on occasions to confine her favorites, when in one of her capricious moods. The expedition was, however, successful. "A great Biscayan," bound for St. Lucas, and the richest of the Indian carracks, called the *Madre de Dios*, were captured and taken into Dartmouth, causing the wildest excitement throughout the kingdom. Even Raleigh was sent to Dartmouth, in charge of his jailer, to look out for the Queen's interest, Sir John Hawkins having suggested to the astute Burghley, her chief adviser, that his presence there "might benefit her portion," none other having "so ready a disposition to lay the ground how Her Majesty's portion may be increased."¹⁶ The *Madre de Dios*, especially, was laden with riches beyond the dreams of her captors; and she and other prizes drew hungry hordes from every part of the kingdom to view them, and to procure some of their spoil. It is related that even proud lords of the Court were seen haggling with swaggering mariners who had surreptitiously possessed themselves of coveted booty. Besides Raleigh and Gorges, Sir Robert Cecil, who was as astute as his aged father in compassing his ambitious schemes, was on the ground as a commissioner-in-chief; and it is probable that at this time an acquaintance was formed between him and Gorges, which subsequently served the latter a good turn. A brief glimpse of the scene in which Gorges was now figuring is furnished by a letter from Cecil to his father, Lord Burghley.¹⁷ He says: —

I

¹⁶ *Vide* Lansdowne Manuscripts, British Museum, Letter of September, 1592.

¹⁷ *Vide* Domestic Correspondence, Elizabeth, September, 1592, Public Records Office.

"I do fend this bearer only to your Lordship, that you may know I have passed by Exeter. Whomsoever I met by the way, within seven miles, that either had anything in cloak, bag, or in mail, which did but smell of the prizes, either at Dartmouth or Plymouth (for I assure your Lordship I could smell them almost, such hath been the spoiles of amber and musk amongst them), I did, though he had little about him, return him with me to the town of Exeter, where I stayed any that should carry news to Dartmouth and Plymouth at the gates of the town. I compelled them also to tell me where any trunks or mail were. And I by this inquisition finding the people stubborn, till I had committed two innkeepers to prison, — which example would have won the Queen 20,000*l.* a week past, I have lit upon a Londoner in whose house we have found a bag of seed pearls. I do mean, my Lord, forthwith to be in Dartmouth, and to have a privy search there and in Plymouth. I have taken order to search every bag or mail coming from the West. And though I fear that the birds be flown, — for jewels, pearls, and amber, — yet will I not doubt but to save Her Majesty that which shall be worth my journey. My Lord, there never was such spoil! I will suppress the confluence of these buyers, of which there are above two thousand. And except they be removed, there will be no good. The name of 'commissioner' is common in this country, . . . but my sending down hath made many stagger. Fouler ways, desperater ways, nor more obstinate people, did I never meet with. . . . All the goods whereof I fend you a note were bought since the Proclamation.¹⁸ I found besides, in this unlooked-for search, an amulet of gold, a fork and spoon of crystal with rubies, which I reserve for the Queen. Her Majesty's captive comes after me; but I have outrid him, and will be at Dartmouth before him."

The key-note of this letter is the aggrandizement of Cecil himself.

¹⁸ This was a proclamation forbidding any traffic in the spoils of the Spanish ships. The captive is poor Raleigh.

himself. Gorges and others had been appointed commissioners before the great value of the prizes was known. As soon as this knowledge reached the Court, Cecil was hurried off by his father to the scene of action. His business ostensibly was as follows:—

“1592, Sept. 16. Instructions delivered to Sir Rob^t Cecil and Thomas Myddleton, appointed Commissioner and Treasurer for the carrack and other prizes come from seas this summer, lying at Dartmouth and Plymouth. Cecil is to repair to Dartmouth and inquire in what sort Sir Ferd. Gorges and other Commissioners lately sent there have proceeded for the surety of the carrack, and who have any right to any part of the adventure, to cause all the lading to be viewed and entered in registers; especially to search out all the precious things, and also to hire sufficient ships to bring such lading into the Thames; but the lighter sort of great price, such as spices, cochineal, &c., may be sent by land, if the adventurers think good.”¹⁹

Cecil speaks contemptuously of the commissioners who had preceded him, but he brings nothing against Gorges; and as we find them afterwards upon good terms, we may reasonably infer that Gorges administered his trust to the satisfaction of the Court agent. A few months later, Gorges is again on the Continent, and complaining to Lord Burghley of the acts of the Vice-Treasurer of the English forces in paying the field officers;²⁰ and in March he joined other captains

¹⁹ *Vide* State Papers, Elizabeth, Public Records Office, CCXLIII.

²⁰ The neglect of just claims for service to the State is conspicuous through this and succeeding reigns, and complaints became almost too common to excite attention. Sir Ferdinando ap-

pears to have chafed under the wrong, and in the memorial referred to appears the following: “Their Lordships will hear the complaints of abuse offered by *Sir Ferdinando Gorges* to the Vice-Treasurer for his care in observing the Council's orders on the parties' return; but

captains in the Low Countries in a petition to the Council, setting forth at large their grievances against the Vice-Treasurer.²¹ He returned to England in October, 1595,²² having been ordered to take charge of the erection of new fortifications at Plymouth, to the great satisfaction of the authorities there, who were in one of their periodical states of alarm at rumors of Spanish invasion.²³

This alarm Sir Ferdinando evidently did not consider groundless; for by his advice a body of men were placed on St. Nicholas island, opposite the town, for its protection.²⁴ He at once began the work of fortifying the harbor of Plymouth, and had, in the March following, practically completed his work; and a commission was "required" for him, as captain and commander of the "Fortifications newly erected at Plymouth," with authority to muster the militia of Devonshire when occasion required.²⁵

On

but Sir Roger is to allow no violence to be offered to the Vice-Treasurer." *Vide* State Papers, Elizabeth, Public Records Office, CCXLI.

²¹ The Captains of the forces of the Low Countries to the Council, 1593, March 19th. They have perused the complaints of abuses in payment of the companies, but it has not been advised by them. They send a true statement of their griefs, which, if not redressed, will greatly hinder the course of martial discipline. Signed by *Sir Ferdinando Gorges* and others. *Vide* State Papers, Elizabeth, Public Records Office, CCXLIV., and enclosures.

²² *Vide* State Papers, Elizabeth, Public Records Office, CCLIV.

²³ "Thanks for your requiring us, upon any attempt of the enemy, to use the advice of *Sir Ferd. Gorges*: we will think ourselves much bound to Her

Majesty if it is her pleasure to seat a gentleman of his worth and experience amongst us in these dangerous times."

Vide Report of the Mayor of Plymouth and others to the Council, relative to the erection of the fort at Plymouth, October 13th, 1595: Public Records Office, CCLIV.

²⁴ "Having received intelligence of the repair of more galleys and shipping to Brittany, and of preparation for invading our ports, we have, with advice of *Sir Ferd. Gorges*, placed 40 men in Saint Nicholas' island to serve as soldiers and pioneers for guarding and fortifying it." *Vide* Letter of *James Bagg*, Mayor of Plymouth, *Sir George Carey*, *Sir Ferdinando Gorges*, and three others to the Council, October 16th, 1595: Public Records Office, CCLIV.

²⁵ "Commission required by *Sir Ferd. Gorges* for the office of Captain and Commander

On March 28th, 1596, a patent was issued from Richmond appointing him captain and keeper of the new fortifications and of the island of St. Nicholas;²⁶ but it would seem that the authority over the militia was not granted. Gorges had returned to England at the solicitation of the Earl of Essex, and was known to be under that favorite's patronage. It was through the influence of Essex that the commission referred to was granted him; but there was one behind the throne greater even than Essex, and every protégé of the Queen's unfortunate favorite was marked by him. This was Sir Robert Cecil, who had the experience and power of his father to aid him; hence we shall see that Gorges was unhappy in being attached to the fortunes of Essex.

In the April following, by special order of the Queen, his pay was ordered to be continued from the time when he left his command in the Netherlands to take charge of the work for fortifying the harbor of Plymouth, until otherwise ordered.²⁷ On the 12th we find him writing to Lord Burghley;

Commander of the Fortifications newly erected at Plymouth; pay, 4s. a day, allowing him a lieutenant at 2s. a day, a gentleman porter 1s., three master gunners 3s., and 60 soldiers 8d. a day, per man, to be paid from the customs of Devonshire and Cornwall; authorizing him to muster and call together the militia of Devonshire in defence of the fort when needful, March, 1596. *Vide* State Papers, Elizabeth, Public Records Office, CCLVI.

²⁶ *Vide* Richmond Patent, dated March 28th, 1596, creating Sir Ferdinando Gorges "Captain or Keeper of the castle or fort lately built and fortified near Plymouth," and also "Captain of St. Nicholas' Isle, together with all

wages, fees, &c. of such offices, to be taken out of the customs upon the transportation of pilchards from Cos. Devon and Cornwall." *Vide* State Papers, Elizabeth, Public Records Office, CCLVI.

²⁷ "Sir Ferdinando Gorges, captain of the English footmen in the Low Countries, has come over to attend directions about Plymouth fort, and being absent on that account is checked therefor. We desire you to pay to Sir Ferdinando his entertainment of 6s. a day from 17 Oct. last and to continue it till orders to the contrary." *Vide* State Papers, Elizabeth, Public Records Office, CCLVI.: Letter of the Queen to Sir Thomas Sherley, April 3d, 1596.

ley; at the same time taking the precaution to write to his son, advising him of the daily rumors of a descent of the Spaniards upon the Devonshire coast with intent to burn and spoil, and suggestively calling attention to the unsatisfactory position which he occupied in not holding the Queen's warrant to organize against a sudden attack of the enemy; alluding undoubtedly to a neglect on the part of the Government to authorize him to muster the militia of the county in case of need,²⁸ an intentional neglect on the part of the wily Secretary, who was not disposed to put any more power than possible into the hands of one friendly to a rival. At the moment these letters were written, extensive preparations were being made in English ports to equip an expedition which should strike a blow at the Spaniards on their own shores, and by crippling their naval power, hinder them from organizing another armada against England.

This plan had been suggested several years before by Sir John Hawkins,²⁹ but had not been adopted. Latterly, however, it had been taken up by Lord Admiral Howard; and by the active co-operation of Cecil, Essex, and Raleigh, who were united in an enterprise which promised so much glory, was made effective, though the Queen, with her usual capriciousness, often interfered, and on several occasions came near causing its overthrow. Essex at this time enjoyed the warmest place in the old Queen's affections, and was made by her

²⁸ *Vide* Letter of Sir Ferdinando Gorges to Lord Burghley: *Ibid.* to Secretary Cecil, Hatfield House, *et postea*.

²⁹ *Vide* Domestic Correspondence, Elizabeth, Public Records Office: Letter of Sir John Hawkins, December, 1587.

her the commander-in-chief of the expedition, although the Lord Admiral Howard was a veteran of experience, and in every respect more suitable for the chief command. Even after everything was ready, she was loath to part with her favorite, who was almost beside himself with anxiety to get away.⁸⁰

The fleet finally sailed on the 1st of June, its objective point being the prosperous port of Cadiz. The story of this enterprise is one of the most stirring in the annals of this stirring period.⁸¹ It was in every respect successful. Thirteen Spanish war-ships and seventeen galleys defended by the harbor batteries were destroyed, disabled, or captured, and prizes made of a fleet of forty merchant-ships. Cadiz itself was given over to plunder, and proved a rich prize to the invaders. The greatness of their success awakened sufficient enthusiasm in the hearts of Cecil, Essex, and Raleigh to unite them for a time in a sort of friendship. The relations existing at this time and subsequently between these men must be taken into account, in order to understand properly what later appears as incongruous in the connection of Sir Ferdinando Gorges with them. At the time this expedition was in process of equipment, Gorges was on good terms with the rival trio, and doubtless would have been selected to take an active part in the enterprise, had not other duties required his attention. In this, perhaps, he was not quite unfortunate,

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⁸⁰ *Vide* Domestic Correspondence, Elizabeth, Public Records Office: Letter of Essex to the Privy Council, April 11th, 1596.

⁸¹ *Vide A Briefe and True Report of the Honorable Voyage to Cadiz*, in

Hakluyt's *Collection of Early Voyages, etc.*, London, 1810, Vol. II. pp. 19-33; *History of Elizabeth*, by William Camden, London, 1688, pp. 517-523; *Relation of Cadiz Action*, Raleigh; *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, Vol. IV. pp. 1927-1934.

as the victors, though they returned in triumph and were welcomed by the grateful plaudits of the people, were received by the Queen with four looks and fourer words, her avarice causing heartburnings which could not be readily relieved.⁸² Her pettinefs and capriciousnefs seemed to increafe with age. At one moment ſhe would order her forces to be augmented, and at another to be diminished.

During the ſummer Sir Ferdinando was ſo ſeriously ill as to be in danger of his life, as we learn from a contemporary letter.⁸³ We find him, however, ere long at his poſt again, forwarding news to Secretary Cecil as uſual ; thereby, it would ſeem, incurring the diſpleaſure of the Lord Admiral, who conſidered himſelf ſlighted.⁸⁴

The news of the fall of Cadiz and the loſs of ſo much wealth cauſed the Spaniſh King to bend all his energies towards ſtrengthening himſelf for a counter-invaſion of his enemy's country. Gorges and others were alive to the neceſſity of ſtrong coaſt defences ; and an alluſion made near the cloſe of the year to his neglect to “come to conſult
about

⁸² *Vide* Bacon Papers, Lambeth Palace, DCLVIII. 168; *Ibid.*, Letter of Lord Burghley to the Earl of Eſſex, September 22d, 1596, DCLIX. 136.

⁸³ “I have received your and the Council's letters for myſelf, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, and others, as to ſearching for things embezzled by the *Volunteer* and other ſhips which followed the fleet in the late action. Sir Ferdinando Gorges, having been in great danger through ſicknefs, and not having yet recovered, deſired me to repair thither [to Plymouth] to-morrow.” *Vide* State Papers, Elizabeth, Public Records

Office, CCLIV. : Letter of George Carey to Secretary Cecil, Auguſt 28th, 1596.

⁸⁴ “I ſend letters from Bayonne to Pedro del Caſtillo, having opened them for news in preſence of Sir Ferd. Gorges. The Lord Admiral is diſpleaſed with Sir Ferd. Gorges for not ſending him news of theſe parts as he does to you. He would have done it long ago, had he known it was his Lordſhip's wiſh.” *Vide* State Papers, Elizabeth, Public Records Office, CCLXI. : Letter of William Stallenge to Secretary Cecil, Plymouth, December 23d, 1596.

about the cashiering of 50 men," then in the service, exhibits his distaste at taking part in such a proceeding.⁸⁵ Gorges appears to have well understood the character of Elizabeth, and the danger incurred by doing anything without her express warrant. Indeed, so tyrannical and treacherous was she, that obedience to her orders was often dangerous. We find him, in the beginning of 1597, writing to Secretary Cecil asking for an enlargement and explanation of his commission. In language quite unlike the prevalent style, so fervently obsequious, he plainly stated that he would not undertake anything for which he could not show a warrant, and that his reputation would be considered small if it became known that he was unable to procure things necessary for his own safety; "and so," he said, "may her majesty's service be neglected and myself scorned." He closed pithily with the following words: "I rest with desire of means to show myself assuredly, Your honors at command."⁸⁶

Gorges appears to have been ever on the alert to gather information concerning the enemy, which he promptly conveyed to Secretary Cecil. Still he waited, and waited in vain, for an enlargement of his commission. Although on friendly terms with the Secretary, he was well known to be attached

⁸⁵ "As Sir Ferd. Gorges does not come to consult about the best way of cashiering 50 men of Sir Thos. Morgan's company to serve in Plymouth, I send my own poor opinion that a letter should be written to Lord Burgh[ley], in whose government they remain, to cashier 50 of that band, but not transport the men

thence, which would be troublesome and chargeable," etc. *Vide* Letter of Sir Thomas Sherley to Sir Robert Cecil, February 23d, 1596, Public Records Office, CCLVI.

⁸⁶ *Vide* Letter of Sir Ferdinando Gorges to Secretary Cecil, Hatfield House, *et postea*.

attached to Essex, and this was enough to prevent his promotion ; besides, it was the policy of this reign so to leave affairs of moment, that the responsibility for any miscarriage could be shifted upon the shoulders of those having them in charge, if it was thought at any time best to do so. Tired of the unnecessary delay to commission him properly for the service in which he was engaged, he wrote to Cecil, near the end of April, that he had equipped a pinnace of his own, which he was about to despatch to the Groyne and Ferrol, and that he should be contented to go in her himself if he were at liberty to go, on account of the unsatisfactory condition of affairs. He took the occasion to read the powerful Secretary a lesson, which is well worthy of notice, as exhibiting the character of the Queen. It was as follows :—

“ There can be nothing more dangerous to our estate than [fancied] security, the which infection our nation hath ever been subject unto, and that proceeding from the want of intelligence from men of judgement and reputation ; and I never yet prized my life or estate so high, as I would neglect to do that, the which, in my conscience, was fit to be done for my country's good.” ⁸⁷

The Spanish King was actively engaged in equipping a fleet for the invasion of England ; and so threatening was the danger of a descent upon her coasts of another Invincible Armada, that Raleigh thought it necessary, in order to awaken the people to a sense of their peril, to write and publish a brochure upon the subject, which he entitled “ Opinion upon the Spanish Alarum,” in which he set forth
the

⁸⁷ *Vide* Letter of Sir Ferdinando Gorges to Secretary Cecil, Hatfield House, *et passim*.

the advantage to be gained by England in striking the first blow. The proposition was so popular that a powerful expedition was speedily equipped, largely by private enterprise, to give another staggering blow to Spain; and Sir Ferdinando Gorges was joined to it as Sergeant-Major-General of the land forces.³⁸ The English part of the fleet was composed of three squadrons: the first commanded by the Earl of Essex as Admiral; the second by Lord Thomas Howard as Vice-Admiral, and the third by Sir Walter Raleigh as Rear Admiral. Raleigh's ship was commanded by Sir Arthur Gorges; and Sir Ferdinando accompanied his kinsman in it, leaving his brother Edward in charge of Plymouth.³⁹

The Dutch allies of England furnished twelve ships of war, under the command of Admiral Van de Woord, for the expedition, which sailed near the middle of July from Plymouth. It had hardly cleared the coast, when several Spanish ships appeared off the harbor, and succeeded in capturing a bark belonging to Sir Ferdinando.⁴⁰ Soon after its departure the English fleet encountered a storm so severe that Raleigh says, "we made account to have yielded our
souls

³⁸ *Vide A Larger Relation of the said Island Voyage*, written by Sir Arthur Gorges, Knt., collected in the *Queene's Ship called the Wasp Spite*, etc.; *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, Vol. IV. p. 1938.

³⁹ *Vide* State Papers, Elizabeth, Public Records Office, CCLXIV.; *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, Vol. IV. p. 1938.

⁴⁰ "A bark arrived from Brittany reports that four Spanish men-of-war keep the Channel, and their Vice-Admiral boarded him, and being very in-

quisitive about the English fleet, they were obliged to cast overboard letters of intelligence, &c. Two Englishmen aboard report that 10 galleys are coming from Spain to land 250 men in some weak western town. A man-of-war has taken a bark of the town belonging to Sir Ferd. Gorges and two boats." *Vide* Letter of Thomas Treffey to Secretary Cecil, July 14th, 1597, in Domestic Correspondence, Elizabeth, Public Records Office.

fouls up to God.”⁴¹ When the shattered ships finally gathered in Plymouth harbor,⁴² they presented a sorry spectacle. Officers and men, especially those of the former who had not been inured to hardship, were sick and disabled, and some subsequently died, on account of the exposure and suffering to which they had been subjected. Essex was greatly disheartened, and, knowing the fickle and heartless disposition of the Queen, doubtless felt uneasy with regard to her action. A letter from him to Cecil, under date of July 28th, and now in the office of the Public Records, exhibits so well the conceit of the time, that it should not be overlooked.

BONAVENTURE, July 28th, 1597.

I have received your packet with the news of Her Majesty's encounter with that braving Polart, and what a princely triumph she had of him by her magnanimous, wife, and eloquent answer. It was happy for Her Majesty that she was stirred, and had so worthy an occasion to show herself. The heroes would be but as other men if they had not unusual and unlooked-for encounters; and sure Her Majesty is made of the same stuff of which the ancients believed their heroes to be formed: that is, her mind of gold, her body of brass. O foolish man that I am, that can compare *la jupe blanche* to the hardest metal! but in that wherein I mean to compare it, it holds proportion, for when other metals break and rust and lose both form and colour, she holds her own pure colours which no other
of

⁴¹ *Vide* State Papers, Elizabeth, Public Records Office: Letter of Sir Walter Raleigh to Secretary Cecil, July 18th, 1597.

⁴² “I have removed from Falmouth to Plymouth, as most sure to gather my scattered flock. I have found Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Francis Vere, Sir Geo. Carew, Sir W^m Harvey, and Capt.

Throgmorton with some of the Queen's great ships here, and met with Sir W^m Brooke and Sir Ferd. Gorges in the *Dreadnought* and Carew Reynolds in the *Forelight* of Falmouth.” *Vide* State Papers, Elizabeth, Public Records Office, CCLXIV.: Letter of Earl of Essex to Secretary Cecil, July 20th, 1597.

of nature can match or of art imitate. But how dare my melancholy spirit praise her? Bear with me, for these contrary winds and cross fortunes make me suspect myself, though I could esteem all things that happen well or ill only to myself as outward things, that should not take away tranquillity of mind. Yet to have means of doing my Sovereign service taken from me is more than the taking away of my life. How dizzy my head is you may know by my sending your father an account of the men discharged and the money given to them, and no mention of what I had done with the arms. Let him know that I have left them all with Sir Ferd. Gorges in the fort at Plymouth.

ESSEX.

TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

Having delivered himself of this folly, Essex proceeded to business, and reported the next day to the Queen's Council the action of a council of war composed of himself, Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir George Carew, Sir Thomas Vere, and Sir Ferdinando Gorges, to the effect that they had repaired the disabled ships; and owing to the increased danger of an invasion, growing out of the late disaster to the fleet, he had left Sir Ferdinando Gorges in charge of the defences of Plymouth, partly, he said, because he found him the only stay of this country, and also because the services of a Sergeant-Major-General were not so much required, the forces being diminished and the land service not likely to be so great as it would have been if the expedition had been successful at the first.⁴⁸

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⁴⁸ *Vide* State Papers, Elizabeth, Public Records Office: Report of Earl of Essex, Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir George Carew, Sir Francis Vere, and Sir Ferdinando Gorges, Council of War, to the Privy Council, July 29th, 1597.

Sir Arthur Gorges tells us that his kinsman, Sir Ferdinando, being one of those disabled, his place was assigned to Sir Anthony Sherley. *Vide Purchas his Pilgrimes*, Vol. IV. p. 1941.

At his departure he entrusted to Sir Ferdinando funds with which to relieve any ships, which might return to Plymouth in distress. From notes by Lord Burghley of proceedings to be taken to prevent an invasion, preserved in the Records Office, it appears that Sir Ferdinando Gorges, the Earl of Bath, and Sir William Courtney were jointly charged with the defence of the county of Devonshire.⁴⁴ Sir Ferdinando was also made one of a commission of three, with headquarters at Plymouth, to prevent abuses in the allotment of prizes taken from the Spanish. At this time he held the commission of a justice of the peace.⁴⁵

The fleet for Spain finally sailed August 17th, and directed its course towards Ferrol; but as though Providence especially intervened in favor of the Spaniards, a strong east wind, more potent for defence than all the flinty fortresses of Ferrol, blew directly out of the harbor, and baffled every attempt at entrance. The helpless fleet, buffeted by wind and wave, was beaten off, and after capturing a few unimportant prizes, returned to England a couple of months after sailing. Raleigh, however, who had been separated from the rest of the fleet, was more successful, and captured Fayal, exciting thereby the jealousy of Essex and his friends, who, with a strange disregard of decency, attempted to punish him for striking Spain a blow in the glory of which they could not share.

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⁴⁴ *Vide* Notes of Lord Burghley, of proceedings to be taken to prevent an invasion. Public Records Office. This manuscript is without date, but was doubtless written in 1597.

⁴⁵ *Vide* Cotton Manuscripts, Otho. E. IX. 326, British Museum; also a Warrant dated September 29th, 1597, signed by Sir Ferdinando, in Public Records Office.

In the meantime Gorges was spared the annoyances and enmities growing out of the failure of the expedition, and busied himself, as well as he could under such a government, with the defence of Devonshire. Certainly he had but poor support from the Government, the members of which were wholly occupied with matters of a purely selfish nature, from which they could only be aroused by the shadow of a great danger falling directly athwart their plans. Sir Ferdinando was still without the authority he had so long pleaded for as a necessity to enable him to make his command effective in case of sudden attack.⁴⁶ He was almost in despair at the miserable condition of his troops, who were forely neglected. In a letter to the Council he spoke of the Spanish fleet, which had failed from Ferrol with the intention of landing a force on the Isle of Wight, and which in spite of having suffered disaster from storms was still making ready for invasion; and he laid open the Spanish design, which was to land two armies, one on the east and another on the west coast, with expectation of aid from Scotland on the north, as well as Ireland on the west. Of the desperate needs of the defensive forces he spoke in the plainest manner, and referred to Raleigh, to whom he had made a written report. The troops were destitute of money and clothing; they were even short of arms, and, although it was then near midwinter, unprovided with fuel and proper shelter. Speaking from knowledge of the Spaniards, he said, that "if God had

⁴⁶ The most that he could secure was an order of the Queen to Sir Walter Raleigh, Lord Warden of the Stannaries, which stated that "there may be cause at some future time to reinforce the

new fort at Plymouth with men used to trenching; and as the tanners are accounted the skilfullest for that work, you are to appoint a convenient number of them, who are always to be in readines."

had not prevented them this last time, they would, without resistance, have performed their designment upon these parts." ⁴⁷

Two days later he informed Cecil of the report that the Spaniards intended making a winter attack upon England, and commended his informant to the consideration of the Secretary. Even from the few letters which have come down to us, we may see that he was indefatigable in his labors for the protection of Devonshire.⁴⁸ In a letter of December 8th to Cecil, he enclosed a draught of Falmouth, which he described as wholly unprovided with means of defence, and gave his opinion respecting the best method of fortifying it.⁴⁹

His last letter to Cecil this year, contained an account of the arrival at Plymouth of a mariner in the employ of a merchant of the town, whom the Spaniards had taken and subjected to the tortures of the rack in order to extort from him information, which it was supposed he might have regarding the English fleet. It was rumored in Spain that the Adelantado's forces had "taken and killed all," and were "in peaceable possession of all, and that they found many friends in these parts." And he continued: "The words that the Adelantado used unto the reporter hereof was, that the fire was but now kindled and the wars but now begun between England and Spain; in whose preference (at the same time) was Eleott, a chief councillor as it seemeth,

⁴⁷ *Vide* Letter of Sir Ferdinando Gorges to the Privy Council, Domestic Correspondence, Elizabeth, Public Records Office, Vol. CCLXV. No. 42 *et passim*.

⁴⁸ *Vide Ibid.*, No. 44.

⁴⁹ *Vide Ibid.*, No. 45.

feemeth, and the cause (as he sayeth) that these men were racked."

All this caused him anxiety, and he pressed Cecil for an answer to his demands. His manly and outspoken opinions upon the subject in this age of sycophancy are worthy of notice. After alluding to the want of necessary provisions, and having stated that fair winds for the Spaniards had prevailed for some time, he said that in his opinion it seemed fitting that something should be done to satisfy the people that their affairs were not being neglected; which would not only content them, but also serve to encourage them to a better performance of their duties. Certainly it could not be *unsafe* to have affairs settled in an orderly course, and everything in readiness to prevent the worst. Thus much he said in discharge of conscience and duty, because he was aware that notice was taken of the "backwardness and slackness" of the nation, by which its enemies received comfort, by being persuaded that the English not only lacked understanding in such matters, but wanted judgment to provide for emergencies; a persuasion which encouraged their enemies, while the want of necessary provisions would prove a source of great discomfort to those who were called to defend their country.⁶⁰

France had been the ally of England in the Spanish war, but now abandoned her and made terms of peace with their common enemy.⁶¹ This was a new cause of disturbance in England.

⁶⁰ *Vide* Domestic Correspondence, Elizabeth, Public Records Office, Vol. CCLXV. No. 55. It would be interesting to know what Sir Ferdinando wrote to Essex at this time.

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⁶¹ *Vide History of Elizabeth*, by William Camden, London, 1688, p. 545; *A Chronicle of the Kings of England*, by Sir Richard Baker, London, 1733, pp. 388 *et seq.*

England. The Irish, too, were arrayed in open hostility against the Government, which had been over-harsh; and to make matters still worse, the Court was disturbed by animosities which interfered with the management of affairs.⁵² Every man of prominence had his clique of partisans, who made it their business to undermine rivals and exalt patrons to the extent of their ability.

We have seen how Sir Ferdinando labored with Cecil to obtain means to provide for the proper maintenance of the soldiers under his command at Plymouth, and to get a definition of his authority, which was often called in question by the civil authorities, and how vain had been his appeals.⁵³ He had been obliged to quarter some of his men in the town, which naturally occasioned dissatisfaction; and being the representative of the Government, he was obliged to share the hostile criticism which its improvidence excited among the people; besides, his attachment to Essex naturally drew upon him the attention of the opponents of the Queen's favorite, and we may infer tended to lessen the warmth which had hitherto existed between him and Raleigh.

Essex, whatever may be said of his faults, possessed a frank and manly nature, which made him much more attractive than Cecil, who was secretive and ever ready to take advantage of a rival. Gorges, who seems to have been akin to Essex in manly qualities, undoubtedly cherished a warm affection for him, nor was he unwilling to be recognized as a friend

⁵² *Vide A Chronicle of the Kings of England*, by Sir Richard Baker, London, 1733, pp. 386, 387 *et passim*; *Letters and Memorials of State*, by Arthur Collins, Esq., London, 1746, Vol. II.

p. 77; *History of Elizabeth*, by William Camden, London, 1688, pp. 555 *et seq.*

⁵³ *Vide Letters of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, Hatfield House, et postea.*

friend of the powerful courtier; hence arose a feeling of opposition among the secret opponents of Essex to his subordinate. This feeling is evinced in a letter, under date of May 8th, 1598, from William Stallenge to Cecil, in which is the keynote of later expressions of unfriendliness. He says: "The townsmen hope some good course established between Sir Ferd. Gorges and them;" and some time later, referring to the quartering of troops in the town: "But it is here supposed to be a matter rather proceeding from Sir Ferd. Gorges to show his good will towards the town. I would Her Majesty would appoint him to some other place, for there will be no end of his malice, which will in this place greatly hinder her service."⁵⁴

Evidently Gorges enjoyed no sinecure in his command at Plymouth, receiving insufficient supplies from the Government, and being obliged to bear the odium of its shortcomings. We have heard his urgent appeals for arms, and have seen how Essex, when he returned from his unsuccessful expedition, left with him some of the arms which he brought back. Even these, though he needed them ever so much, he must give up; for the clouds of war were darkening on every side, and men, money and armament were needed everywhere. Knowing how much Plymouth was exposed to the enemy, and its great importance to the country, we cannot wonder if he reluctantly yielded up weapons which he regarded as necessary to a proper defence of his charge.⁵⁵

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⁵⁴ *Vide* Domestic Correspondence, Elizabeth. Public Records Office: Letters of William Stallenge to Secretary Cecil, May 18th and August 30th, 1598.

⁵⁵ *To the Right Honor^{ble} our very loving Friend, Sir Ferdinando Gorges:*

After our very heartie commendation we have received warrant from the
Lords,

A condition of affairs disheartening to an observer from a humanitarian standpoint existed in England. Under the pomp and glitter of royalty, evil in its every form flourished. Plots and counterplots were the pastime of those in power and out of power; and while the former lolled on beds of ease, and went daintily and fared sumptuously, the latter groaned upon the rack, and suffered death by the hurdle, the gibbet, and the knife.⁶⁶ In this condition of affairs, with the loss of the French alliance, an invasion from Spain threatening on the south, a dangerous spirit of hostility active on the Scottish border, and with Ireland marshalling its rude septs, fired with unrelenting hate of everything English on the west, the future of England looked dark indeed. Yet John Chamberlain wrote, on January 17th, 1599, to Dudley Carleton: "On Twelfth Day the Queen danced with the Earl of Essex, very richly and freshly attired. . . . Sir Ferdinando Gorges is to be

Lords of Her Majesty's Most Hon: Privy Council unto you for redelivery of some armour as was left with you upon the return of the Earl of Essex from the seas, appertaining to this Countie — and do now send you this Bearer, Henry Parker, for the receipt of the said armour from you, whom we do hereby authorise to receive them unto our use, hoping that as well in respect you are our Countryman born, as well as that our good neighbour, *your Brother Mr. Edward Gorges*, hath given his credit unto us (from whom we hope you have before this time heard to this effect), that as our men were as well armed as any that went in that array, so we should receive as good & serviceable arms as any are in your

custodie, and that we leave you to the protection of the Almighty.

MONTAGUE —

Your very loving Friend.

This VIII. of August, 1598.

Francis Hastings. John Colles.

Henry Portman. Edw^d Hext.

E. Gorges.

[Subscribed] Upon a letter written unto the Counsell, we received this letter directed unto you, and to understand your pleasure we presumed to break the seal and have accordingly sent the bearer.

Vide Additional Manuscripts, British Museum, Letter of August 8th, 1598.

⁶⁶ *Vide History of Elizabeth*, by William Camden, London, 1688, pp. 561–563 *et passim*.

be serjeant-major."⁵⁷ The reference to Gorges relates to an expedition then organizing to strike a blow at the Irish; for it had been resolved to crush rebellion at home before venturing against a foreign enemy.⁵⁸ This enterprise was entrusted to Essex, and Sir Ferdinando Gorges was to be Sergeant-Major-General of the land forces; but after everything had been arranged, the Queen had one of her usual fits of caprice, and ordered a number of officers, whom she had appointed to accompany the expedition, to remain at home. Among these was Sir Ferdinando, who was retained in his command at Plymouth.⁵⁹ Spain had again become active for invasion; and daily alarms spread along the coast, keeping the people constantly on the alert for Spanish ships.⁶⁰

The expedition failed for Ireland in the early spring, and Essex as commander-in-chief was invested by the Queen with almost

⁵⁷ Gorges seems to have been several times at Court during this period. On July 25th his lieutenant and relative, Edward Dodrington, who had been left by him in charge at Plymouth, wrote him "at Court" that he feared an attack on the fort, and had watched all the night before with "my cousin Gorges [Edward?] and Mr. Gennes." *Vide* State Papers, Elizabeth, July 25th; also *Ibid.*, January 17th, 1599.

⁵⁸ "Essex's commission for Ireland is agreed on after many difficulties, but not signed. He is called Lieutenant, may return at pleasure, make barons, dispose of lands won from rebels, etc.; he makes great provision for horses, and many are presented him. They talk of taking over 200 or 300 mastiffs to worry the Irish, or rather their cattle. The Queen countermands many of his fol-

lowers, including all her own servants . . . the Earl of Rutland and Lord Grey, Sir Nich. Parker, Sir Ferdinando Gorges . . . and others. I think it is not Essex's doing, though some say it is, because he cannot satisfy all." *Vide* Letter of John Chamberlain to Dudley Carleton, January 31st, 1599, Public Records Office.

⁵⁹ *Vide* Letter of George Fenner to Bernardo Edlyno, Venice, June 30th, 1599, Public Records Office.

⁶⁰ "Upon bruit of certain Spanish ships being upon our Coast, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, the lieutenant, required 100 men in the fort out of the town, and may do so again, which would leave ourselves a prey to the enemy." *Vide* Letter of John Blytheman, Mayor of Plymouth, to the Council, April 26th, 1599, Public Records Office.

almost regal power, to the extent even of pardoning the crime of treason and continuing or terminating the war. Yet so capricious was Elizabeth, that when she heard that he had placed at the head of his cavalry an officer obnoxious to her, she immediately ordered that he should be discharged; and in spite of the objection of Essex to disgracing without cause an officer in whom he trusted, he was obliged in the end to obey her tyrannical demands.

In the meantime the enemies of Essex were undermining him at home, and exciting the animosity of the Queen against him. This became patent to the absent favorite, and so wrought upon his passionate nature, that he seriously contemplated a plan of returning to England with a force sufficient to overthrow by a sudden *coup d'état* his enemies at Court, under pretence of protecting the Queen from treasonable advisers injurious to the welfare of the nation. We shall see that the practical result of this scheme at a subsequent period terminated in the ruin of its projector and many of his friends, and involved others in danger, among whom was Sir Ferdinando Gorges. Such was the condition of affairs at this time, we are told, that to write or speak of Irish affairs was forbidden on pain of death, and that both Essex and the Queen "threatened the other's head."⁶¹ In July, William Stallenge, the persistent enemy of Gorges, wrote to Cecil,

⁶¹ "It is forbidden on pain of death to write or speak of Irish affairs: what is brought by the post is known only to the Council; but it is very sure that Tyrone's party has prevailed most. It is thought that the Earl of Essex is much discontented, and it is muttered

at Court that he and the Queen have each threatened the other's head; undoubtedly all kindness is forgotten between them." *Vide Domestic Correspondence, Elizabeth, Letter of George Fenner to Bernardo Edlyno, Venice, June 30th, 1599, Public Records Office.*

Cecil, asking that matters connected with the command of Gorges at Plymouth should be inquired into.⁶² Gorges appears at this time to have been at Court, probably to meet charges made against him by his adversaries, who were active in complaints of his management,⁶³ yet, it would appear, without much success. The Earl of Bath, on the 29th of July, writing to the Privy Council of the terror of the people along the coast on account of the Spanish fleet, the appearance of which was daily expected, took occasion to give it this advice: "Let Sir Ferd. Gorges be commanded to his charge at Plymouth fort, and some other men of skill with him; for the want of men of conduct and discipline will be a great impediment in time of danger."⁶⁴

Three days later, Sir Ferdinando appears to have been at Plymouth, from which he addressed a letter to his "loving cousin," Sir Walter Raleigh, then commander-in-chief of the naval and military forces of Devonshire, informing him of the arrival of a man from Brest with particulars of the Spanish

⁶² "The Mayor and we his brethren are unwilling further to quarrel with Sir Ferd. Gorges, and yet in discharge of our duties we pray that a view may be taken of the fort and island to see in what fort they are furnished; for upon any occasion we may be called thither, and not find in either of them wherewith to defend ourselves or the place." *Vide* Letter of William Stallenge to Secretary Cecil, July 19th, 1599, Public Records Office.

⁶³ "About disposing of our men there was some question with the lieutenant of the fort [Gorges], he requiring that one of the companies upon the Hoe might be drawn to the fort; but the mayor and his brethren, knowing that

such as went in — although the enemy did not attempt to land there, but at some other place far distant — would not be suffered to come forth again to help the rest, wished the three companies to remain near the fort, to be disposed of as need should require for the defence of all places, until more succor might come. I doubt these great requirings by the commanders of the fort will cause the better sort of inhabitants to abandon this town." *Vide* Letter of William Stallenge to Secretary Cecil, July 27th, 1599, Public Records Office.

⁶⁴ *Vide* Letter of the Earl of Bath to the Privy Council, July 29th, 1599, Public Records Office.

ish preparations for a descent upon the coast, their especial aim being the capture of Plymouth. "How," he says, "it is furnished for defence you partly understand, which defects we must supply as well as we may with the old saying of England, 'God and Saint George: let them come and they dare!'"⁶⁵

The next day he addressed a letter to the Privy Council, which is somewhat enigmatical, and may explain the cause of his attendance at Court the week previous. This letter was caused by the appointment of a commission to muster and pay his men "by the poll," a procedure which he complained of as showing distrust of his honor. While rather ostentatiously claiming honesty, he confessed to a "former misdemeanor" which the Council and Queen had knowledge of, and attributed the appointment of the commission to this knowledge and a consequent distrust of him.⁶⁶ Just what this misdemeanor was we know not, but we may find a hint of it in the concluding portion of his letter. We know that wars at this period were conducted largely by private enterprise. Gentlemen ventured their estates in arming and equipping ships and men. Gorges had evidently made ventures of this kind, as we know that some months before he had fitted out a bark for the Groyne, which had been captured by the Spaniards, and in this letter he calls the attention of the Council to the fact that he had supplied his men with fire, beds, candles, boots, etc., for which he had received

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⁶⁵ *Vide* Domestic Correspondence, Elizabeth: Letter of Sir Ferdinando Gorges to Sir Walter Raleigh at Sherborne, July 30th, 1599, Public Records Office, Vol. CCLXXI. No. 133.

⁶⁶ *Vide* Domestic Correspondence, Elizabeth: Letter of Sir Ferdinando Gorges to the Privy Council, July 31st, 1599, Public Records Office, Vol. CCLXXI. No. 141.

no satisfaction. It is possible that he had reserved, as an offset for these supplies, some portion of the money sent him to pay his men, or had done as many others had; that is, reimbursed himself to some extent from the spoils of Spanish prizes; an illegal course, but at times the only one which an adventurer could take to save himself from ruin.

Nor was it considered, in this season of moral drought, an unpardonable crime to reimburse one's self from captured spoil for expenditure incurred in warring upon the public enemy; ⁶⁷ especially when the Government was all too ready to evade payment of just demands, however urgent. The misdemeanor, whatever it might have been, did not interfere with his command at Plymouth, where we find him at this time watching for the expected enemy. ⁶⁸

The threatened invasion caused much suffering among the working population, as men were obliged to neglect agricultural pursuits to engage in the common defence, which occasioned a scarcity of food. The Spaniards, instead of attempting an attack on England, made their way to Ireland and effected a landing there. Essex, however, succeeded, by negotiations with Tyrone, the Irish leader, in bringing his campaign to an end with little loss of blood, much to the disgust of the Queen,

⁶⁷ Evidences of this unlawful appropriation of the spoil taken from the Spaniards are numerous, and men high in rank and holding places of trust under the Government were engaged in it. *Vide* Account of Money, Plate, Jewels, and Goods taken at Cadiz, and Letter of Sir Christopher Blount to Secretary Cecil, September 28th, 1596, Public Records Office.

⁶⁸ It is recorded that the expecta-

tions of the Spaniards were raised to such a height that they expected to take England and possess it as a dependency to the Spanish Crown. The enthusiastic Admiral even took his wife with him, intending, as he confidently informed his Spanish friends, to make his future home at Mount Edgecomb, opposite Plymouth, where some years before he had been sumptuously entertained by Lord Edgecomb.

Queen, who preferred a violent stamping out of rebellion to concessions to rebels in arms, however just their demands might be.⁶⁹

The policy of Essex, however, was a wise one, but, unfortunately both for England and Ireland, was not made a precedent. Upon his return to Court, he encountered the hostility of enemies who felt somewhat secure in their positions. The Queen was not only bitterly angry with him, but her animosity extended unreasonably to those who were associated with him in the Irish campaign. Sir John Harington, who ventured into her presence at this time, says, that "she chafed much, walked fastly to and fro, looked with discomposure in her visage, and, I remember, caught at my girdle when I kneeled to her, and swore, 'By G—d's Son, I am no queen. That man is above me. Who gave him command to come here so soon? I did send him on other business.' She bid me go home. I did not stay to be bidden twice. If all the Irish rebels had been at my heels I should not have made better speed."⁷⁰ Although the public voice was loud in his favor, she determined to punish her former favorite and ordered him into confinement.

During this time Sir Ferdinando Gorges was at Plymouth, daily scanning the horizon for the appearance of Spanish ships. On the 3d of August he wrote Cecil the news which he had received of the Spanish designs, stating it to be his opinion that the enemy intended to make a demonstration

⁶⁹ *Vide History of Elizabeth*, by William Camden, London, 1688, pp. 571-577; *Letters and Memorials of State*, by Arthur Collins, Esq., London, 1746; Rowland Whyte to Sir Robert Sydney,

Michaelmas; *Ibid.*, October 6th, 1599, *et passim*.

⁷⁰ *Vide Nugæ Antiquæ*, by Sir John Harington, London, 1804, Vol. I. pp. 354-357.

demonstration upon the Thames. At the same time he took occasion to call the attention of the Secretary, as usual, to the neglect of the Government, and besought him "that some course be taken to give content unto those honest men that are already come for the defence of the place;" and particularly commended to his notice several of the gentlemen who had organized companies of soldiers for the common defence.⁷¹

On the 23d he addressed the Council with respect to the Spaniards, and asked for instructions respecting the discharge of a portion of his men at the expiration of the time appointed for their discharge by the Earl of Bath. Nor did he forget to call attention urgently to the fact that he had been unable to get definite instructions respecting necessary work, and was unable to draw further upon the county.⁷² On the 28th and 30th⁷³ he again addressed the Council with respect to Spanish affairs. The three hundred men whom he had formerly written about, he stated, in his letter of the 30th, had been discharged, though against his advice and will. The tone of this letter is worth noticing, as giving a glimpse of the true character of the writer. While respectful, it is firm, and the writer's opinions are plainly and fearlessly stated; hence one can but conclude that he was a man of decided views, which he had the courage to maintain before any tribunal.

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⁷¹ *Vide* Domestic Correspondence, Elizabeth, Letter of Sir Ferdinando Gorges to Secretary Cecil. August 3d, 1599, Public Records Office, Vol. CCLXXII. No. 6 *et postea*.

⁷² *Vide Ibid.*, Letter of Sir Ferdinando Gorges to the Privy Council, August

23d, 1599, Public Records Office, Vol. CCLXXII. No. 67 *et postea*.

⁷³ *Vide Ibid.*, Letters of Sir Ferdinando Gorges to the Privy Council, August 28th and 30th, 1599, Public Records Office, Vol. CCLXXII. Nos. 84, 93 *et postea*.

While Gorges was at Plymouth faithfully discharging his duties to the Crown, Essex, with whom he had been associated early in the Spanish war, and to whom he had become attached, like so many others, was fighting in prison. The anger of the Queen was kept alive against him by unscrupulous enemies, who knew so well how to play upon the chords of vanity, selfishness, and cruelty in the heart of this disagreeable woman. He was finally granted a trial before men many of whom were his enemies. He was obliged to conduct his defence upon his knees, with his papers in his hat before him upon the floor; and only when nearly exhausted, was allowed to change his position, being finally permitted to sit upon a stool like a disgraced boy. He was acquitted, there being no case worthy of the name against him, and again walked the streets of London a free man; but his proud spirit could not brook the triumph of his enemies, who did not attempt to conceal their satisfaction at his humiliation.⁷⁴ For some time he bore the neglect of the Queen and the insults of his enemies, but at last resolved upon revenge. The scheme which he had considered in Ireland, of seizing the queen and banishing his enemies from the Council, was revived; and every man whom he had at any time favored, and who could now be of use to him, was made aware of his obligation. His house became a rendezvous for turbulent spirits, as well as of the more noisy and impracticable of the

⁷⁴ *Vide History of Elizabeth*, by William Camden, London, 1688, pp. 597-601; *Letters and Memorials of State*, by Arthur Collins, Esq., London, 1746; Letter of Rowland Whyte to Sir Robert Sydney, June 7th; *Ibid.*, June 11th, July 5th, 1600, *et passim*; *Nugæ Antiquæ*, by Sir John Harington, London, 1804, pp. 179 *et seq.*; *Memoirs of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth*, by Thomas Birch, D.D., London, 1847, Vol. II. pp. 470 *et seq.*

the Reform preachers; and the question, if it were lawful to compel a lawless ruler to govern lawfully, was openly thrown into the arena of debate.

Many of the most powerful of the nobility gathered about Essex, and engaged to support him in his attempt to overthrow his enemies.⁷⁵ Sir Ferdinando Gorges, who was at the time actively engaged in looking after the prizes which were being brought into Plymouth Harbor,⁷⁶ was informed, by a letter addressed to him by Essex, of the wrongs which had been heaped upon his patron and friend, by which his sympathies were enlisted in his behalf; and he was urgently requested to be in London by the 2d of February. Upon his arrival in the metropolis, he found himself in the midst of a throng of powerful partisans of the Earl, who, under color of reforming abuses of government, were ready to place Essex in power at all hazards.⁷⁷ The situation affords a singular spectacle. Never was reform more needed, or more apparently needed, than at this time. The followers of Essex could but have realized this necessity; and they doubtless, for the most part, believed that they were engaged in a righteous cause, and yet, like many reforms before and since, the one which they proposed was wholly spurious. One set of self-seekers was to be removed, and another set quite

⁷⁵ *Vide History of Elizabeth*, by William Camden, London, 1688, pp. 602 *et seq.*

⁷⁶ *Vide* Letter of William Stallene to Secretary Cecil, from Plymouth, April 10th, 1600, Public Records Office, in which he says: "Sir Thomas Shirley has arrived; one of his prizes which laded at St. Domingo will be good. Order should be given for the safe keep-

ing of the goods. Sir Ferdinando Gorges and his Lady, with the advice of Captⁿ Legat, are the chief dealers of Sir Thomas Shirley."

⁷⁷ *Vide* Declaration of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, February 18th, 1600. Additional Manuscripts, 4128, Fol. 23, British Museum, *et postea*. The original manuscript is to be found in the Public Records Office.

quite as self-seeking put in their places. It was a scheme unworthy of success, and it failed.

We must, however, particularly consider the part which Sir Ferdinando Gorges played in this dangerous drama, "the rebellion *unius diei*," as the Queen contemptuously denominated it. He reached London on Tuesday, the 2d of February, 1600, and met Essex with other friends that night at Drury House,⁷⁸ where he was shown, as had been promised him, a list of the most influential of the supporters of Essex to the number of about a hundred and twenty earls, barons, knights and gentlemen. The proposed plans were submitted to him, and the question discussed, whether to make an attempt upon the Court, or upon the Court and town at the same time. The latter project met with general favor; but Sir Ferdinando Gorges, who seems to have appreciated the weakness of the entire scheme, objected, with commendable caution and good sense, that their force was inadequate to so large an undertaking. His objection prevailed, and it was moved that the first demonstration should be made upon the Court; but before assenting even to this, Sir Ferdinando demanded an explanation of the exact methods to be pursued. Upon this, Sir John Davis proceeded to put on paper the parts assigned to each person. Some were to guard the gate, others to be in the hall and lobby; and certain persons who had easy access to the royal presence were to be about the Queen. Essex himself, with some
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⁷⁸ Drury House, before the time here mentioned, belonged to the Abbot of Ramsey, and, we are told by Stow, Book III. p. 89, took its name from "Sir Drew Drewrie, a Worshipful Owner

thereof." It was on Beech Lane, between Redcross and Whitecross Streets, in Cripplegate Ward, and was of stone. The site of Drury House is now thickly packed with buildings.

of his choice friends, were then to present themselves to the Queen, who was to be compelled to form a new Council and to displace from office persons hostile to the chief.

The opinion of Sir Ferdinando concerning this elaborate plan was requested, and he promptly objected to it as impossible of accomplishment ; besides, his sense of loyalty was shocked at the idea of seizing the royal person, and compelling her to act contrary to her own volition. It was urged against his objections, that the force at command was sufficient, since many of the guard were former dependants of the Earl of Essex, and would therefore offer him no resistance.

In spite of these arguments, Sir Ferdinando refused to sanction the plan, which caused the Lord of Southampton to demand in a passion if nothing then was to be done, after three months of discussion ; to which Gorges coolly answered that this was more than he knew. He was then asked to point out the course best calculated, in his judgment, to succeed ; and he replied that *if* it was necessary for the Earl to do something, which would imply that he doubted the existence of such a necessity, he thought that the numerous friends in the city upon whom the Earl was relying should first be stirred up, which seems to imply a doubt of the Earl's strength in this respect. This common-sense view of the situation prevailed, and the meeting broke up with the understanding that the Earl was himself to stir up his friends in the city ; but when Gorges next met Essex, which was on the following Saturday night, it appeared that nothing in the proposed direction had been done, since it was resolved by the Earl, at this meeting, to " put in practice the moving of his friends in the city " on the next day.

This

This resolve was precipitated by an order to Essex to appear before the Council, followed shortly after by an anonymous note warning him of danger. He therefore, during the night, despatched messengers to his friends to assemble the next day, and upon their arrival in the morning, informed them of the danger he was in from the malice of his enemies, and desired them to proceed with him to the Queen to solicit her protection. At this moment Sir Ferdinando Gorges was handed a communication from his kinsman, Sir Walter Raleigh, urging him to meet him at once at Durham House.⁷⁹ This communication Gorges at once exhibited to Essex, and asked his advice before replying to it. After a brief consideration of the matter, Essex thought it best that the meeting should take place, as he might thus learn something of the extent of the knowledge possessed by his enemies concerning his plans; and as treachery was suspected, an answer was returned to Raleigh that Gorges would meet him, not at Durham House, but in a boat on the Thames. Accordingly Gorges set out for the place of meeting, having first been urged by Sir Christopher Blount, the stepfather of Essex, to kill Sir Walter, against whom Blount cherished deadly enmity; but, it is pleasant to record, without avail, as the proposition was promptly rejected by Sir Ferdinando.⁸⁰ He, went, however, accompanied by two gentlemen as a guard, in case violence should be attempted by

⁷⁹ Durham House was not far from Essex House, and was built in 1345 by the Bishop of Durham, and subsequently became the property of Henry VIII. It was a noted place, and had been the scene of many great festivities. At the

time we treat of, it was the residence of Sir Walter Raleigh.

⁸⁰ *Vide* Answer of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, Cotton Manuscripts, British Museum, VI. 423 *et postea*. This interesting document is presented in this work.

was losing time. This riotous demonstration caused the Lord Keeper to command them authoritatively, in the Queen's name, to lay down their arms and disperse; but with little effect, for as Essex led the way into the house, he was followed by cries of "Kill them!" "Keep them for pledges!" "Throw the great seal out of the window!"

Having succeeded in getting the Queen's councillors into the house, Essex conducted them to a retired room, where he placed them in the charge of several of his friends, and then, drawing his sword, rushed into the street, followed by those who had assembled to aid him. But he found no meeting at St. Paul's Cross as he had expected, for the Lord Mayor had ordered the citizens to remain in-doors; and he continued on through the city, shouting as he went, to arouse the people, "For the Queen, my mistress!" until he reached the house of one of the sheriffs, whom he believed to be one of his supporters. Finding that the man he sought was absent, he became convinced that his plan was a failure, and that he would not receive support from those he had counted upon. Attempting to return to Essex House,⁸⁸ he found Ludgate closed with a chain and closely guarded, so that it was impossible to pass.

The guard had listened to him before, and allowed him a passage; and now Sir Ferdinando Gorges attempted by fair words to prevail upon the officer in command to allow Essex to pass

⁸⁸ Essex House was situated in the midst of extensive grounds at the upper part of the Strand, near Temple Bar. The great gardens connected with it extended from the Strand to the Thames, a distance of about seven hundred feet.

These grounds have for a long time been covered with buildings; and what was in the time of Essex a quiet retreat has become one of the noisiest and busiest places of the noisy and busy British metropolis.

pass back, but without avail. He then called the attention of the unfortunate Earl to his noble prisoners, and suggested that his last and, indeed, only hope was in them; offering to go himself to Essex House, and after setting the Lord Chief Justice Popham at liberty, to proceed in company with him to the Queen, and endeavor to explain to her the cause of the Earl's rebellious actions, and gain from her as favorable a consideration of his offence as possible. To this the Earl consented; and Gorges departed, reaching Essex House in safety. Contrary, however, to his expectation, when he announced to the Lord Chief Justice the reason for his return, that nobleman refused to accept his liberty unless the Lord Keeper Egerton was also liberated. There was no time to lose; and as the safety of Essex depended upon placating the Queen, and in repairing as far as possible the damage already caused by his high-handed imprisonment of the Queen's representatives, it seemed wise to Gorges to liberate them all, which he promptly did.

Having entered a boat to proceed to the Queen, Sir Ferdinando tried to impress them with the Earl's great popularity and strength, and urged them to prevent impending danger by using their wisdom and authority, as "fathers of the kingdom," in prevailing upon the Queen to listen to the reasons which Essex might give for his action; shrewdly suggesting that if these reasons were based upon false information, an explanation would set matters right. In the meantime he desired, for the security of the Queen, and to prevent bloodshed by enraged men, that the Queen would not only listen to the Earl's explanations, but grant immunity to himself and friends for "that day's attempt," they being desirous to
throw

throw themselves at her "merciful feet." This the liberated noblemen promised to do; but while they were deliberating upon it in council, they received news that Essex had fled to his house for safety, and that all danger was at an end.

No further consideration of the subject was considered necessary, although Gorges, it seems, labored faithfully to get the support of Cecil and Raleigh in behalf of his friend,⁸⁸ and the Queen's Councillors at once assumed the aggressive. Essex and his most influential abettors in treason were arrested and imprisoned in the Tower; while Gorges himself, who

⁸⁸ It is but proper here to call the attention of the reader to the letter upon which this conclusion is based. This letter was found by me at Hatfield House, and being without date, might be used, and probably in Sir Ferdinando's day would have been used, by his enemies as a basis for an opposite conclusion. This letter is as follows:—

RIGHT HONORABLE, — If it please you to command me to come to your house when Sir Walter Raleigh and your Honor will appoint to be together in some convenient place, it may be I shall say that I cannot write, which will be more available than anything I have or can justly subscribe unto. If you please so to think well, it will be best this night; for if I be not deceived, it will be too late to-morrow. In the meantime I humbly commend your honor to the protection of the Almighty, resting most unfeignedly during life,

Your honors at command,

FERD: GORGES.

After a careful consideration of all the events before, during, and after the rebellion, as well as after Sir Ferdinando's liberation, I can but conclude that this letter was written immediately

after the liberation by Gorges of the noble prisoners whom Essex had held at Essex House. Had it been written before the outbreak, it would show Gorges to have been a traitor to Essex, which his meeting with Raleigh and subsequent action disproves; nor could it have been written after his long incarceration in prison, which he left to find temporary shelter at Charlton House, which belonged to the Gorges family and was near Wraxall. No occasion whatever existed at this time for such a letter, as a study of the course of events will plainly disclose. He was however, as we know, in active negotiation with those in power, Cecil, Raleigh, and other friends of the Queen, as soon as he saw that Essex had failed, hoping to obtain for him and his followers immunity from punishment. In doing this, he endeavored to impress upon the Queen's friends that Essex was still powerful, and that a speedy compromise was necessary. This letter would fit into this time naturally, and was probably preliminary to the negotiations which we know took place; indeed, it seems, as before stated, to have been the next step which Gorges took after liberating his prisoners, and might well have been in the interest of Essex.

who seems to have been drawn into the undertaking against his inclinations and judgment, soon found himself a close prisoner in the Gatehouse.⁸⁴

In his examination he related the simple facts which took place within the scope of his own knowledge after his arrival in London, facts which to have withheld would have imperilled his own life without benefiting Essex in the least. Yet Essex was erroneously led to regard Gorges as a traitor to him: first, by liberating all of the Queen's messengers without orders; and, secondly, by testifying under oath that he did not approve of the course adopted by him.

In the trial which followed, and which was fatal to Essex and some of his followers, the unfortunate Earl exhibited much indignation at the course of Gorges. When the paper containing the latter's examination was read in court, Essex demanded that he should be confronted with Gorges face to face. This demand was granted, and Gorges was brought from prison and confronted with the Earl, who regarded him with a pale and anxious face. "Good Sir Ferdinando," said he, "I pray thee speak openly whatsoever thou

⁸⁴ "The Gatehouse West of St. Peter's which gives Entrance into Tuthill-street, is a Place so called, of two Gates; the one out of the College Court, or Great Dean's Yard: On the East Side whereof was the Bishop of London's Prison for Clerks Convict; and the other Gate adjoining to the first, but towards the West of the Prison, for Offenders, thither committed for the Liberty or City of Westminster." *Vide A Survey of the Cities of London and*

Westminster, by John Stow, edited by John Strype, London, 1720.

The Gatehouse was a most uncomfortable place of imprisonment, if we may judge from the accounts of it. During the persecution of the Non-conformists, it was sometimes crowded to overflowing with prisoners, whose sufferings were often fearful, so that it came to be regarded with greater horror than perhaps any other prison in London.

thou dost remember; with all my heart I desire thee to speak freely; I see thou desirest to live, and if it please her Majesty to be merciful unto you, I shall be glad and will pray for it; yet, I pray thee speak like a man." To this Sir Ferdinando replied, that his written examination contained all that he could remember upon the subject, and that he could say no more. Essex, who was laboring under the erroneous supposition that Gorges had been false to his interests in liberating the Queen's Councillors, and had finally consummated his treachery by a voluntary confession implicating him in treason, exclaimed with much feeling, "Sir Ferdinando, I wish you might speak anything that might do yourself good; but remember your reputation, and that you are a gentleman. I pray you answer me: Did you advise me to leave my enterprise?" "I think I did," was the answer. "Nay, it is no time to answer now, upon thinking," cried Essex; "these are not things to be forgotten. Did you indeed so counsel me?" In this trying position, in peril of his own life and obliged to testify to a fact deemed prejudicial to his friend, but yesterday one of the most powerful men in the kingdom, whose friendship was deemed a boon, Gorges, for a moment, paled before the haughty and scornful glance of his stern questioner, and then broke the awful silence which prevailed in the court with the simple words, "I did." Essex, whose aim it was to invalidate the evidence of Gorges, which he seems to have regarded as fatal to him, turned in a dramatic manner to the court, and exclaimed, "My Lords, look upon Sir Ferdinando, and see if he looks like himself! All the world shall see by my death and his life whose testimony is the truest." This ended the examination;

tion; and when Gorges passed from the court to his prison, he undoubtedly left behind him the impression that he had betrayed his friend, since men naturally place the acts of others in their worst light. This he himself was aware of, and he employed his prison hours in preparing a defence against the charge everywhere made, that he had betrayed Effex. How this was received we do not now know; but certainly, no one can read it to-day without being favorably inclined towards its author. There is certainly nothing in it which conflicts with his statements made under examination, which Effex himself, before his execution, owned to be true.⁸⁵ The principal charges against him were, that he liberated the Queen's Councillors in order to gain their favorable regard, and that he betrayed the Earl's secrets in his conference with Sir Walter Raleigh, — the "Fox," as Effex termed his rival, — which has already been described. After ably defending himself against these charges, he magnanimously proceeds to excuse Effex for his harsh treatment of him before the court, on the ground that the unfortunate Earl had not heard the testimony of other friends of his who were engaged in the conspiracy, and, supposing that he, Gorges, was the only one who had testified against him, conceived that it was good policy to deny wholly the truth of the testimony, and to disgrace the witness by imputing to him base motives, in order to break the force of his testimony; and he points out that the Earl's rage against him is to be attributed to

⁸⁵ *Vide* Carew Manuscripts, No. 37, British Museum, Letter of Sir Robert Cecil to Sir George Carew, in which, after giving an account of the confession of Effex, Cecil says that it even concurred with "Sir Charles Danvers, Sir John Davy's, Sir Ferdinando Gorges', and Mr. Littleton's confession."

to the belief that he voluntarily placed himself before the bar as a witness in order to save his own life from peril, and that, therefore, it was not surprising that in his bitterness of spirit he should abuse one whom he supposed to be a traitor to him. But he says: "Who was there that seemed more industrious and careful to nourish virtue in all men than he? Whether he was a divine or soldier, a wise commonwealth's man or a good lawyer, to all these he endeavored to be an excellent benefactor and faithful protector. And who was there that seemed more willingly to expose himself to all hazards and travail for his prince's or country's service than he? Who ever more willingly spent his own estate, and all that by any means he could get, for the public good of his country? The daily experience that I had thereof, and the undoubted opinion of his good meaning therein, was the cause that bound me so inseparably to him. . . . He was of the same profession that I was, and of a free and noble spirit. But I must say no more; for he is gone, and I am here. I loved him alive, and cannot hate him being dead. He had some imperfections, — so have all men. He had many virtues, — so have few. And for those his virtues I loved him; and when Time, which is the trial of all truths, hath run his course, it shall appear that I am wronged in the opinion of this idle age. In the meantime I presume this that I have said is sufficient to satisfy the wise and discreet; for the rest, whatever I can do is but labor lost."

After the execution of Essex and some of his obnoxious friends, Sir Ferdinando, whose office of commandant at Plymouth had been taken from him and conferred upon Sir William Parker, one of Cecil's dependants, remained in

the Gatehouse for nearly a year, constantly petitioning Cecil for a pardon.⁸⁶ It must have been a season of terrible suspense to the prisoner; for he knew that if at any time a slight change of sentiment with regard to him on the part of Cecil should take place, his head would come to the block. Petition after petition was therefore laid at the Secretary's feet; and his uncle, Sir Thomas Gorges, pleaded warmly for him, pledging his own and his nephew's faithful and undivided service to Cecil for a pardon.⁸⁷ This was finally granted, and on the 23d of January, 1601, we find Sir Ferdinando at Charlton House,⁸⁸ ruined in purse, the guest of Sir Thomas Gorges, who was then living there, and who had offered a shelter to his unfortunate nephew. How long he remained at Charlton House, we have no means of knowing; perhaps until after the Queen's death, which occurred on the 24th of March, 1603.

The wily and unscrupulous Cecil, after the removal of Essex, exercised almost unlimited sway, and was thus able to lay many of the friends of the dead favorite under obligations to him. The accession of King James of Scotland in no wise lessened his influence; for, by secret correspondence with him before the Queen's death, he had so managed affairs as to ingratiate himself with the new monarch.⁸⁹

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⁸⁶ *Vide* Warrant to Sir Nicholas Parker to take charge of the new fort at Plymouth and of St. Nicholas Island, in place of Sir Ferdinando Gorges deprived. July, 1603, Public Records Office.

⁸⁷ *Vide* Letter of Sir Ferdinando Gorges to Secretary Cecil, Hatfield House, *et postea*.

⁸⁸ Charlton House is in Nailsea,

Somerfetshire, and not far from Wraxall. It belonged to the Gorges family, and contains a finely carved mantelpiece bearing the Gorges coat-of-arms. It is now the property of Anthony Gibbs, Esq., to whom the author is indebted for many kindnesses, and who possesses several manuscripts of the Gorges family.

⁸⁹ The petty character of James is remarkably

There was no reason for pursuing vindictively the friends of Essex; indeed, good policy dictated the opposite course. Among those whom Cecil bound to him by doing them favors was Sir Ferdinando Gorges: first, by procuring his pardon and release from prison; and, later, by restoring him to his former command at Plymouth, which was in the autumn following the accession of James to the throne.⁹⁰ These favors could but have bound Gorges firmly to the powerful minister; since by his influence he had not only escaped the axe of the headsman, but had been restored to an office of power, the emoluments of which he greatly needed. Raleigh, the only real rival in the path of Cecil, was soon locked up in the Tower, and the position of the successful statesman was henceforward secure.

In the first letter which we find at Hatfield House addressed to Cecil, its former master, by Sir Ferdinando, after the restoration of the latter to his office of commandant at Plymouth, every line suggests that he was addressing one who was in the exercise of supreme authority. In this letter we no longer hear the old-time ring of self-confidence. He is at his post still, and the theme of his discourse is still the Spaniard. This time a wealth-laden carrack has been taken by the Hollanders, and Cecil may wish to deal in the rich cloth of gold, the musk, the China silks, and other

markably disclosed in a letter of Lord Thomas Howard to Sir John Harington, and of James himself to the Duke of Buckingham, in *Nugæ Antiquæ*, by Sir John Harington, Knt., London, 1804, Vol. I. pp. 390-397, as well as elsewhere. The manner in which Cecil secured the good-will of the new monarch is dis-

closed in the secret correspondence of that statesman with the Scottish King.

⁹⁰ *Vide* Warrant to pay 56 shillings per diem to Sir Ferdinando Gorges, who is restored to his former post of captain of the new fort at Plymouth, September 15th, 1603. Public Records Office.

other treasures; and he can do this through the writer, unknown to others; can, indeed, make use of his "name and service as of any creature" his lordship may possess. Some time after, he sends the powerful statesman a present, — a poor and simple token of love and service, he calls it, — which he begs him to accept, "though it be but a mite."⁹¹

There was no longer war with Spain: James favored the Spaniard to the discontent of his subjects, whose hatred of everything Spanish had been imbibed with their mothers' milk. Sir Ferdinando chafed under the new order, and in a letter to Cecil, of May 18th, informing him of a rumor that a force of Spaniards was about to pass along the English coast to attack the old allies of England, the Hollanders, he showed something of his old spirit, and advised, as he had often advised in former times, that his command at Plymouth should be put into a better condition of defence, evidently distrusting the old enemies of his country. And, certainly, there was good reason for distrust, there being no real basis upon which to found a friendship between the two countries.⁹²

The Roman Church had held dominion throughout Christendom for centuries, and her subjects had cowered with superstitious fear beneath her sceptre, and kissed with abject humility the hem of her bedizened garments. With vain pomp and ceremonial she had tricked out the simple truths of the gospel until they were no longer recognizable, and becoming arrogant with the pride of power, assumed

⁹¹ *Vide* Letter of Sir Ferdinando Gorges to Secretary Cecil, Hatfield House, *et postea*.

⁹² *Vide* Letter of Sir Ferdinando Gorges to Secretary Cecil, Hatfield House, *et postea*.

assumed to rule politically. Had she not attempted this, she might have longer held her subjects in bondage; but this unwise attempt to guide the *char temporel* attracted the attention of the more thoughtful. The repressive influence of her rigorous routine had excluded education from the people, but could not wholly stifle thought; and certain minds capable of independent thinking challenged her authority. The bonds of superstition which the ecclesiastical looms had been weaving for ages to hold the human intellect in subjection could not, however, be cast off suddenly; nay, must perforce continue to hamper the minds of men for generations. This is seen in the history of the period. On the one hand was the Roman Church with its gorgeous ceremonial and assumption of divine authority; on the other, the radical Protestants, of whom there were many varieties, known chiefly as Nonconformers, Dissenters, Independents, and Puritans, who protested vehemently against every claim, form, and ceremonial of Rome; and between these the British Church, which protested only against certain claims, forms, and ceremonials of the old *Ecclesia*, and which now held the sceptre of power through the selfish and bigoted James.

Although this false-hearted monarch professed friendship for his Roman Catholic brother, Philip of Spain, whose duty to the see of Rome, as well as his conscience as a Roman Catholic Christian, rendered it imperative that he should not regard with equanimity the persecution of his brother churchmen in a neighboring realm, he began, shortly after his accession to the English throne, a persecution hitherto unparalleled by any Protestant monarch, against all who did
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not to the letter conform to the "church way" which he affected, and Roman Catholics were stripped of their property, imprisoned, and judicially murdered by the too scrupulous King, in a manner shocking to contemplate; hence Sir Ferdinando had good reason to fear that in their zeal for their religion, the Spaniards might at any time forget the hollow peace which existed between their monarch and the English King. Nor did the radical Protestants escape persecution, though the difference between persecutors and persecuted in this case was only one of degree; and we have presented to us the disagreeable spectacle of a king, who was a nonconformist to the ancient faith of his realm, cruelly persecuting on the one hand the Church which held the faith of his fathers, and on the other striving with equal cruelty and vindictiveness to "harry" out of the realm his brother-nonconformists, who were disposed to go a step farther in nonconformity than himself. This course produced turmoil and trouble enough, but was overruled by Providence to a good end.

We have seen that in 1578, Sir Humphrey Gilbert had obtained from Elizabeth a charter to discover and take possession of any remote and barbarous lands not already possessed by any Christian prince,⁹³ which charter was subsequently, in 1584, renewed to his half-brother, Sir Walter Raleigh, who fitted out an expedition which took possession of territory in America, to which he gave the name of Virginia.⁹⁴ From this time the colonization of the New World became

⁹³ *Vide Historical Collections*, edited by Ebenezer Hazard, A.M., Philadelphia, 1792, Vol. I. pp. 24-28.

⁹⁴ *Vide Ibid.*, Vol. I. pp. 33-38.

became a fruitful theme throughout Christendom, and voyages were made thither from time to time by European navigators. But the wars which were continually waged between the European powers had prevented hitherto any considerable success in colonizing the New World. At the time of which we write, the peace which existed between England and Spain left unemployed many restless spirits, whose life was in adventure, who gave free play to their imaginations in devising schemes of conquest and discovery, as well as of trade and colonization.

Five years before, Elizabeth had granted a charter, against considerable opposition, to George, Earl of Cumberland and two hundred and fifteen knights, aldermen and merchants, under the title of the "Governour and Company of Merchants of London, trading into the East Indies," for exclusive trade with all countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope to the Straits of Magellan.* The success of this Company, the golden threads of whose history began at once to form an important part of the warp and woof of the political and commercial activity of the realm, was inspiring. Hitherto, the progress of civilization had been more rapid than the development of the resources of the kingdom; but with the advent of the East India Company, improvements in everything relating to navigation and commerce began. Indeed, with the birth of this virile organization, which took place at the dawn of the new century, began a renaissance of enterprise throughout Europe, which placed in the hands of civilization the means whereby it could make more rapid progress

* *Vide Annals of the Honorable East India Company*, by John Bruce, London, 1800.

progress than it had hitherto done. Nor, while the adventurous and commercial spirits of Europe were active in shaping their schemes for gain, were the religious spirits of the country dormant. More than a century before had Columbus been depicted bearing Christ on his shoulders over the deep;⁹⁶ and at the time of Raleigh's undertaking, Hakluyt pleaded earnestly for the evangelization of the heathen of America:⁹⁷ hence the colonial enterprises which we are to witness will show a strong infusion of religious sentiment.

In 1603 the French monarch, basing his claim to the territory upon the disputed discovery of Verrazano,⁹⁸ granted to the Sieur de Monts a charter of the entire continent lying between the fortieth and forty-sixth parallels of latitude, which included the present State of Maine; and at the time which we have now reached, the summer of 1605, De Monts, with the Sieur de Champlain, was exploring the coast of Maine under his charter.⁹⁹ Not to be outdone by the French and to open the way to further enterprise, a company of English gentlemen, at whose head was Lord Thomas Arundel of Wardour, despatched Captain George Waymouth, an energetic navigator and doctrinaire in mat-
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⁹⁶ *Vide Select Letters of Christopher Columbus*, edited by R. H. Major, London, 1870, frontispiece; and *Historical and Geographical Notes*, by Henry Stevens, London, 1869, map of Juan de la Cosa.

⁹⁷ *Vide Hakluyt's Discourse*, edited by Charles Deane, Collections of the Maine Historical Society, Second Series, Vol. II. pp. 7-12.

⁹⁸ *Vide the Voyage of Verrazano*, by Henry C. Murphy, New York, 1875,

and *Verrazano the Navigator*, by J. C. Brevoort, New York, 1874, for the arguments relating to the subject; also *cf.* The Relation of John Verazanus in Hakluyt's *Divers Voyages*, London, 1850, pp. 55-115.

⁹⁹ *Vide Champlain's Voyages*, edited by the Rev. Edmund F. Slafter, A.M., Boston, 1878, Vol. II. pp. 38-114. The original charter is in the possession of John Marshall Brown, Esq., of Portland.

ters relating to navigation and naval architecture, on a voyage to the northern part of America. This voyage of Waymouth was not for the purpose of settling a colony, but for the discovery of a suitable place for future habitation.¹⁰⁰

The Roman Catholics, meeting with persecution in England, had for a long time considered the project of fleeing to the New World for refuge. A prominent Roman Catholic gentleman, Sir George Peckham, had been active in procuring the patent of 1578 to Sir Humphrey Gilbert; and although from motives of policy he was not named in the patent after its issuance to Gilbert, he and another prominent Roman Catholic gentleman, Sir Thomas Gerrard, became proprietors for the purpose of preparing a way for Roman Catholic emigration, and before Sir Humphrey's voyage to Norumbega¹⁰¹ with a colony of two hundred and sixty colonists, they had secured for Romanists the privilege, not before granted, of becoming colonists.¹⁰² The voyage,

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¹⁰⁰ *Vide Voyages towards the North-West*, edited by Thomas Rundall, London, 1849, pp. 51-71; *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, Vol. IV. pp. 1559-1567; *Rosier's Narrative of Waymouth's Voyage*, edited by Henry S. Burrage, D.D., Portland, 1887.

¹⁰¹ Much discussion has taken place with regard to the location of Norumbega. The name first appears on the map of Verrazano in 1529, and is there confined to a restricted locality, in accordance with what we know to have been the custom among the native inhabitants, to apply names invariably to small places and not to large districts. Later it is found in *Ramusio's Collections*, 1565, Vol. III. p. 425, applied to a considerable territory; while Lok on his map makes its southern limit the

Penobscot, and Ortelius gives it a still wider extension. Champlain confined it practically to the present territory of Maine, while Captain John Smith stretched it over New England, and carried its southern limit as far south as Virginia. Nor is the signification of the word known, although labored arguments have been wasted upon it; and in spite of enthusiastic writers, who vehemently claim to know its situation and the precise meaning of its name, we know no more about it to-day than was known by our forefathers of a century ago, to whom it was a myth.

¹⁰² *Vide State Papers*, Elizabeth, Public Records Office, Vol. CXLVI. No. 40. The petition of Sir Thomas Gerrard and Sir George Peckham sets forth the assignment by Gilbert of "authority by virtue

we know, was disastrous, and Sir Humphrey lost his life in it; but the matter had not been allowed to rest, and the voyage of Waymouth was set on foot by Arundel, who was a Roman Catholic, for the purpose, we have reason to believe, of finding a suitable place on the coast of Maine for a colony in which Romanists could find shelter from persecution.¹⁰⁸ In

virtue of the Queen's Majesty's letters patents to discover and possess, &c., certain heathen lands," and prays that "recufants of ability may have liberty upon discharge of the penalties due to her Majesty in that behalf to prepare themselves for the said voyage;" and in a letter dated April 19th, 1582, Vol. CLIII. No. 14, the writer "P. H. W." says: "I do not hear of any further cause of the departure of Sir George Peckham and Sir Thomas Gerrard, than that every Papist doth like very well thereof, and doth most earnestly pray their good success." In 1583 Sir George Peckham published a tract on "Western Planting," which may be found in *Hakluyt's Voyages*, London, 1810, Vol. III. p. 222.

¹⁰⁸ The reason of the abandonment of this project was the opposition to it of Father Persons, who was afterwards so cruelly executed, and other Roman Catholics, who were influenced by his arguments, one of which was as follows: "The Heretics also would laugh and exprobrate the same unto them, as they did when Sir George Peckham and Sir Thomas Gerrard about twenty years gone should have made the same voyage to Norumbega by the Queen and Council's consent, with some evacuations of Papists, as then they called them, which attempt became presently then most odious to the Catholic party." This was in 1605, and was under the title of "MY JUDGEMENT ABOUT TRANSFERRING ENGLISH CATHOLICS TO THE NORTHERN

PARTS OF AMERICA." Lord Arundel was a Count or an Earl of the Holy Roman Empire; and the Secretary of the Congregation *de propaganda Fide*, reporting to Pope Innocent XI., thus refers to him, as well as Southampton, his relative and colleague, who was a Protestant: "Virginia, under which I comprehend *New England*, is a Country full of Woods, and Lakes, and has a Vast and Uncultivated Plain. It abounds with Cattle, Fowl, and Fish. Sometime after it was discovered, the King of *England* sent thither a Catholick Earl and another Nobleman, who was a Heretick. These Two Lords were attended by Protestants and Catholicks, and Two Priests; so that the Catholicks and Hereticks performed for a long time the Exercise of their Religion under the same Roof. Afterwards the Earl being returned into *England* and giving an Account of the Natives of that Country, many Wealthy *Puritans* were desirous to remove thither as they did in great Numbers in the Year 1620. To prevent the Progress of their Doctrines, the General of the Capuchins was ordered to send into that Country a Mission of his own Order, and several French and English Religions went thither accordingly. That Mission was renewed in 1650 at the Solicitation of the Queen Dowager of *England*; but it has been since forsaken. There are in Virginia above Fifty Thousand Inhabitants, most of them Infidels, many Hereticks, and a few Catholick Christians." Like much early history

In this voyage Waymouth was successful in reaching the coast of Maine, and before his return seized upon five natives

history from Roman Catholic sources, this is full of errors; being largely made up of careless deductions from fictitious premises; thus the King of England did not send the two noblemen, nor any one else on this expedition: neither did Arundel nor Southampton accompany it; hence they could not have been accompanied by two priests; nor could they have worshipped a long time under the same roof, as the expedition was on the coast but a month, and during this time was engaged in explorations; still, we ought not to wholly ignore this account, owing to certain collateral facts which bear upon it. Arundel was an earnest Roman Catholic, and the movement which dated from Sir Humphrey Gilbert's time, relative to Roman Catholic emigration, had been recently revived. Thomas Arundel was not made a baron until after Waymouth sailed, and he was never an earl in England; though he was a Count of the Holy Roman Empire, which title in England was equivalent to that of earl, and it is quite possible that the expedition was composed of Roman Catholics and Protestants; nor is it impossible that Rosier was a priest. It is to be noted that he scrupulously ignores Southampton, and takes particular care to state in his preface, that he was "employed in this Voyage by the right honourable Thomas Arundell, Baron of Wader, to take due notice and make true report of the discovery therein performed." He also gives his patron his Roman Catholic title of count, a title which would hardly be recognized by a Protestant. This title is carefully omitted in the popular account published by Rosier, but appears in his relation in *Purchas*. Like several Roman Catholic fathers who accompanied similar expeditions, Rosier collected a vo-

cabulary of Indian words, and he piously concludes his preface with prayers to God for the conversion of the natives; indeed, he declares that the promoters of the enterprise did not undertake it from motives of private gain, but from "true zeal of promulgating God's holy Church, by planting Christianity."

The crosses which were set up, and the names applied to certain places, are suggestive; such as Pentecost Harbor and Infula Sancta Crucis. There was ample reason why, if Rosier was a Roman Catholic priest, he should conceal the fact, as it would have subjected him to persecution. Thus Father White, in his narrative of a voyage to Maryland, in the account published in England, says, that landing at St. Clements' Island they "said certain prayers;" but in the account sent to Rome he says that they "said mass" according to Dr Dalrymple, or offered "the sacrifice of the mass," according to Brooks. So careful were priests to conceal from hostile eyes accounts of the practice of their religion, that they frequently employed words significant enough to a Roman Catholic reader, but altogether meaningless to a Protestant. Thus, *customers* signified *communicants*; *keeping church* or *holding prayers* meant *saying mass*; while *a good deal of washing* was equivalent to *many baptisms*. If Rosier was not a priest, we may be quite certain that he was a Roman Catholic, if we carefully study what he has written. When the Waymouth expedition reached England, Persons' persistent opposition had given a quietus to all schemes of Roman Catholic colonization. *Vide The Peerage of the British Empire*, by Joseph Foster, Westminster, 1883, p. 32; *An Account of the State of the Roman Catholic Religion throughout the*

tives of the country, whom he carried captives to England, three of whom he delivered to Sir Ferdinando Gorges, and the other two, subsequently, to Sir John Popham. The treacherous seizure of these natives gave Waymouth a sinister fame, which has continued to this day, obscuring in a measure the real merits of the man;¹⁰⁴ but like so many events recorded in that calendar of divine providences which men call history, this seizure of the natives of Maine resulted in promoting to a remarkable degree the colonization of New England: an "accident," says Sir Ferdinando Gorges himself, which "must be acknowledged the means under God of putting on foot and giving life to all our plantations." The three natives whom Sir Ferdinando Gorges took charge of, namely, Manida, Skettwarroes, and, if we accept his statement as correct, Tisquantum, he took into his own house, and in process of time they acquired a sufficient command of the English tongue to enable them to communicate to him a knowledge of their country, which so interested him that he at once set on foot a project for the colonization of this almost *terra incognita*.

The charter of Sir Walter Raleigh, in consequence of that brave man's misfortunes, had lapsed to the Crown, leaving the

the World, written for the use of Pope Innocent XI. by Monsignor Cerri, London, 1715, pp. 167 *et seq.*; *The History and Present State of Virginia*, by R. Beverley, London, 1705, p. 12; *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, Vol. IV. p. 1666; *A Relation of the Colony of the Lord Baron of Baltimore*, by Father Andrew White in *Forde's Historical Tracts*, Vol. IV. p. 19; a letter of John Gilmary Shea, LL.D., to the Author; also *cf. Relatio Itineris*, Maryland Historical Society,

Baltimore, 1875, pp. 32 *et seq.*; and *A Relation of the Successful Beginnings of the Lord Baltimore's Plantation in Maryland*, edited by J.G. Shea, LL.D., Baltimore, 1865, p. 9.

¹⁰⁴ For the only sketch of Waymouth extant, reference should be had to the admirable volume already referred to, written by Henry S. Burrage, D.D., and forming number three of the Gorges Society's publications.

the way open for new charters; but we learn from a letter of Gorges to Cecil the difficulties to which the grantees were subjected. In accordance with the wishes of the adventurers, it had been decided to divide the country between the thirty-fourth and forty-fifth parallels of latitude into two parts, to be called respectively South and North Virginia: a portion of the former, equivalent to about one hundred miles square with adjacent islands, to be granted by charter to an association to be known as "The London Company or First Colony;" and a similar portion of the other to an association to be known as "The Plymouth Company or Second Colony," the grantor "greatly commending, and graciously accepting of, their Desires for the Furtherance of so noble a Work, which may, by the Providence of Almighty God, hereafter tend to his Divine Majesty, in propagating of *Christian* Religion to such People as yet live in Darkness and miserable Ignorance of the true Knowledge and Worship of God, and may in time bring the Infidels and Savages living in those parts to human Civility, and to a settled and quiet Government."¹⁰⁶

We have to deal with the second of these associations, which included the Pophams, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, Raleigh Gilbert, and others. With his usual predilection for detail, James embodied in the charter conditions which caused many who had been interested in the enterprise, through the enthusiasm of Gorges, to lose heart in it; hence we find Sir Ferdinando appealing to Cecil on May 10th,

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¹⁰⁶ *Vide Historical Collections*, edited by Ebenezer Hazard, A.M., Philadelphia, 1792, Vol. I. p. 51.

a month after the date of the charter, for aid in procuring an expurgation or modification of objectionable conditions in it: especially one condition, which placed the adventurers, who had embarked their fortunes in the undertaking, under the control of numerous tradersmen and citizens in the realm whom the King entitled counsellors, and who, Gorges claimed, could have no knowledge of the affairs which were thus entrusted to them.¹⁰⁸ Although Gorges insisted, to Cecil, that the enterprise would be abandoned by many who were friendly to it unless this particular condition in the charter were changed, we find him earnestly at work manning and furnishing a ship to send to North Virginia for the purpose of forming the nucleus of a colony there. This ship he placed under the command of Capt. Henry Challons, with Daniel Tucker as master, and two of the natives, whom Waymouth had captured, for guides and interpreters when they should reach America; for it was rightly judged that these natives would prove of great benefit to the colonists in communicating with the tribes of the country, and in the selection of suitable places for settlement.

Sir Ferdinando's ship set sail on August 12th, and Challons had explicit instructions to direct his course as far north as Cape Breton, and from that point to follow the coast southerly until the country inhabited by the tribes to which the two natives belonged was reached. Totally disregarding the orders of Gorges, Challons, with inexcusable

¹⁰⁸ *Vide* Letter of Sir Ferdinando Gorges to Secretary Cecil, Hatfield House, *et postea*.

cusable obstinacy, but in accordance with a prevalent theory, set his course toward the south; and, after encountering a severe storm, we find him on the 4th of September at the isle of Madeira, where he remained until the 8th, when he sailed in the direction of Florida, and encountering one of the long calms prevalent in that region, made no progress for a period of fourteen days. Finally he reached the port of San Juan de Porto Rico, where he took in water and remained for a period to recover from an illness which had overtaken him, and then, as though he were on a voyage of pleasure, he went carelessly on without apparent concern for the business in hand, playing as it were at hide and seek among the West India isles, until, on the morning of the 10th of November, nearly three months from the time when Sir Ferdinando Gorges hopefully watched the disappearance of his ship from the shores of Plymouth, Challons suddenly found himself in the company of eleven Spanish ships on their way home from Havana, "in the midst of the *saed Flete*," a fog which had prevailed having lifted; and although there was peace between Spain and England, and James and Philip were brothers dear, diplomatically, the Spanish Admiral shot off several great guns and made spoil of Sir Ferdinando's ship, and prisoners of its hopeful company. These latter were divided among the ships of the fleet, Tucker and three others being taken on board the Admiral's ship; but, encountering severe storms, the fleet was scattered, and the ship in which Tucker was a prisoner was buffeted by the storms for two months, during which period those on board experienced great suffering. At last they managed to make the port of Bordeaux, where
Tucker

Tucker was set at liberty by the French authorities, and was enabled to institute preliminary proceedings in the French Admiralty Court against his Spanish persecutors. This done, he at once set out for England to obtain the proof necessary to sustain the allegations in his suit, and on February 4th presented to Gorges the full particulars of Challons's disastrous voyage, which Gorges at once mailed to Cecil, praying for his assistance in recovering his ship, and damages for the interruption of her voyage, as well as for obtaining the release of his men, all subjects of the English king.¹⁰⁷

In the meantime Chief Justice Popham,¹⁰⁸ co-operating with

¹⁰⁷ *Vide* Letter of Sir Ferdinando Gorges to Secretary Cecil, Hatfield House, *et postea*. Tucker, after this disastrous voyage, became an adventurer to Virginia, where he was a clerk of stores under Lord Delaware. We find him still in Virginia in 1619, petitioning to the court for an allotment of shares for his services, which he specifies, as well as the offices which he had filled, "as namely: Cape Merchant, Provost Marshal, one of the Council, Truck Master, and Vice Admiral." Subsequently he became governor of the Bermudas. *Vide History of the Virginia Company of London*, by Edward D. Neill, Albany, 1869, pp. 22, 43, 146; Domestic Correspondence, James I., Public Records Office, Vol. LXVIII. No. 62; *Virginia Carolorum*, by Edward D. Neill, Albany, 1886, p. 34.

¹⁰⁸ Sir John Popham was born at Huntworth, in Somersetshire, in 1531. In his youth and early manhood he was wild and reckless, and for a long time bore a sinister reputation. However, after he had attained the age of thirty years, owing perhaps to the influence of his

wife, he changed his habits of life and applied himself to the study of the law, in which he rapidly attained wealth and eminence. He was especially severe upon those who resorted to the highways for a living. This class of criminals, composed largely of men who had served in England's numerous wars, was large, and Popham's extreme severity soon reduced its numbers. Littlecote, near Hungerford in Berkshire, still possessed by the family, came into Sir John's possession in a questionable manner; having been conveyed to him by one Darell, who was tried before him for murder, and escaped the penalty of the crime of which he was accused. It was the current belief that Littlecote was the price paid by Darell for the influence of the judge; but of this no proof exists. That he was a rough, coarse, and brutal man, there can be no doubt. His treatment of Raleigh when on trial before him is sufficient in itself to portray his character, if other evidence were wanting. His various offices were as follows: Sergeant-at-law and Solicitor-General, June 26th, 1579; Speaker of the Commons,

with Gorges in his undertakings, had despatched Capt. Martin Pring to join Challons on the coast of Maine. Pring received the same sailing instructions which were given to Challons, and obeying them implicitly, made a prosperous voyage, which was productive of important results; for although he did not find Challons, he made a careful examination of the new country, and carried home interesting accounts respecting its extent and resources; or, as Gorges himself said, writing many years after, "the most exact discovery of that coast that ever came to my hands since;" and "which . . . wrought such an impression in the Lord Chief Justice and us all, that were his associates, that (notwithstanding our first disaster) we set up our resolutions to follow it with effect."

The result of Pring's voyage to co-operate with Challons
was

mons, in 1581; Attorney-General, June 1st, the same year; knighted and made Chief Justice of the Queen's Bench, June 8th, 1592. He died June 10th, 1607, ten days after the sailing of the Popham Colony, and was buried in the church of Wellington. His tomb is a magnificent structure, surrounded by a railing of iron and wood. An effigy of the judge in his official robes, and of Lady Popham, side by side, surmount the tablet; and below, at the head and feet, are the figures of two men and two women kneeling face to face. On the northerly side of the base are thirteen figures: five boys and eight girls, representing his children, clothed in black and kneeling in a row; and on the south side are nine women kneeling in a like manner. All the figures on the tomb are supposed to represent mourning relatives. The tomb is surmounted by an arched canopy, with the family arms

and various heraldic adornments, supported by eight columns of black marble, with decorated capitals. The inscription reads as follows: "*Sir John Popham, Knight; Lord Chief Justice of England; and of the honourable privie Counsel of Queen Elizabeth, and after of King James; died the 10th of June, 1607, and is here interred.*" Vide *The Commoners of Great Britain and Ireland*, by John Burke, Esq., London, 1836, Vol. II. pp. xii, 196-201; *Lives of the Chief Justices of England*, by Lord John Campbell, New York, 1874, Vol. II. pp. 214-236; Note to Rokeby, by Sir Walter Scott; *Worthies of England*, by Thomas Fuller, London, 1812, Vol. II. p. 284; *Encyclopedia Britannica*, in loco; *The History of Virginia*, by William Stith, A.M., New York, 1865, pp. 74 *et seq.*; Domestic Correspondence, James I., Vol. VI., Public Records Office.

was the formation of the ever-memorable Popham Colony, the earliest settled upon our New England shores. While preparations to organize this colony were being pushed, Gorges was not unmindful of his duty as commandant at Plymouth; and his zeal in the welfare of the realm is disclosed in his letters of this period to Cecil. His innate hostility to the Spaniard, a being who in English estimation embodied the evil trinity of treachery, cruelty, and superstition, caused him earnestly to urge the Government to strengthen the coast defences while peace existed, that when war was renewed, as renewed it would be in his belief, the nation might be in a condition to meet it. How far his appeals were heeded, we are unable to say; probably but little was done by the ministry, as the individuals composing it were occupied with matters of more direct personal interest.

For a while there was to be peace between England and Spain, and the advantages of new territorial acquisitions were to engage the attention of the rival nations of Europe. Not only the French and the Spaniards were intently studying the charts of former navigators and listening to the romances of senile mariners, but the Dutch, more practical than either, were pushing their sturdy ships out into unknown waters in search of new lands.

On the 31st day of May, 1607, Sir Ferdinando Gorges saw the *Gift of God* and the *Mary and John* of London, commanded respectively by George Popham and Raleigh Gilbert,¹⁰⁰ and bearing a colony of one hundred and twenty persons

¹⁰⁰ Raleigh Gilbert has been represented as the brother, son, and nephew of Sir Humphrey Gilbert; but ~~this letter~~ of Sir Ferdinando Gorges would settle the

persons, sail from the harbor of Plymouth for the New World, their objective point being the river Sagadahoc, on the shores of Mawooohen,¹¹⁰ as this region, we are told, was called by the natives. Popham had passed his three-score and ten years; was a man heavy and unwieldy of body, and possessed of a yielding disposition, according to the description of Gorges. He was honest and kind-hearted; indeed, his last act before sailing was to write a letter to Cecil, which, although its ostensible purpose was to renew his pledges of service, and to remind the Secretary of suggestions he had made in a former letter touching mercantile affairs with Spain, was really to recommend a friend, who desired to obtain the post vacated by him, to the notice of the Secretary.¹¹¹ The penning of this letter to aid his friend was the last act performed by Popham in his native land; and as he pushed his little vessel seaward on that fair spring day, he took his last look of

the question, if other evidence were wanting, that he was the son of Sir Humphrey. The late J. Wingate Thornton prepared a genealogy of the Gilberts, and in this he spoke of him and his elder brother, Sir John, as nephews of Sir Humphrey. Raleigh Gilbert died in 1625, and left the following children: Humphrey, aged ten years; Raleigh, nine; Ayer, eight; Ferdinand, seven; Amey, six; and John and Elizabeth, whose ages are unknown. *Vide* the Gilbert Family in *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* for 1850, Vol. II. pp. 223-232; *The History of Virginia*, by William Stith, p. 75; *Gleanings from English Records, etc.*, by Emmerton and Waters, Salem, 1880, p. 40.

¹¹⁰ The Rev. M. C. O'Brien, who is an eminent authority in matters relating to the language of the native inhabitants of Maine, in a letter to the author expresses the opinion that this is a corruption of the original word; nor is he inclined to believe that the word which it represents ever had an extended application. He expresses the opinion that "so far as Maine had an appellation, it was called the *land* of the Sokokis, of the Pequakets, etc. Hence it had several names, or rather portions of it were named after the tribes that occupied them."

¹¹¹ *Vide* Letter of George Popham, dated May 31st, 1607, to Secretary Cecil, preserved in the archives of Hatfield House, *et postea*.

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of the fresh, green shores of England, with hedgerows of hawthorn still flecked with snowy blossoms. We may well believe there were anxious hearts and tearful eyes both on shore and on ship-board on that last day of May, 1607, although we have no record of them; nor does Sir Ferdinando tell us how he and the friends of the departing colony strained their eyes to catch the last sight of the fleeting ships, as their hulls went down below the horizon. The Southern Virginia Company had despatched a colony from the Downs on the first of the preceding January, under the command of Captain Newport, and at the time when Popham and Gilbert left Plymouth harbor, it was already at Jamestown and busily at work erecting a fort to protect itself from the savages who dwelt near by, and Newport was making his preparations to return home with news of the colony, and for supplies to sustain it in its new home.¹¹³

The ships *Mary and John* and the *Gift of God*, bearing the Popham colonists, after a successful voyage, reached the Azores, where, on the 28th of June, they made port in order to take in wood and water. Sailing from there, they fell in with two Flemish ships on the 29th, the captain of one of which hailed the *Mary and John*, and, upon invitation of Gilbert, the Flemish captain and some of his men went on board the English ship to take a "can of beer." After their pleasant entertainment, the Flemings invited Gilbert and several of his companions to visit their ship, which they did, expecting

¹¹³ *Vide History of the Virginia Company of London*, by Edward D. Neill, Albany, 1869, pp. 15-18. Reference may also be had to Domestic Correspondence, James I., Public Records Office, Vol. XXVIII. No. 34.

expecting that their kindness would be returned; but to their surprise they were ill treated, and some of them even fet in the bilboes. Finally, however, the Flemings, under the pressure of a threatened mutiny of their men, many of whom were English, deigned to look at Gilbert's commission, and after an imprisonment of ten hours released them. In the meantime Popham, not noticing the signals of distress on the *Mary and John*, had disappeared.

On the last of July, Gilbert reached the coast, where he held friendly intercourse with the natives, and on the 7th of August fell in with the *Gift*, and after a most joyful greeting, both captains anchored their ships under the lee of George's Island, where they found the cross which Weymouth had set up, and on Wednesday, the 19th of August, the English ships were lying safely at anchor off the peninsula of Sabino,¹¹³ at the mouth of the Sagadahoc,¹¹⁴ a place which Popham and Gilbert had selected after some exploration as the site of their prospective town. All the company were on shore, and possession was formally taken. A sermon was preached by the Rev. Richard Seymour¹¹⁵ under

¹¹³ The name of this peninsula is supposed to be a corruption of the Abenaki word *Sebenoa*, the name of a Tarrantine sagamore of that region. It projects from the west bank of the Sagadahoc, and is about three miles from the island of Seguin.

¹¹⁴ The Sagadahoc is formed by the confluence of the Androscoggin and Kennebec, about twenty-five miles from the sea, and is an estuary of variable width throughout its length. Its name is from an Abenaki word, *Sanktaonk*, which signifies "It ends here."

¹¹⁵ The late Bishop Burgess has attempted to connect the Rev. Richard Seymour with the Gorges, Popham, and Gilbert families by marriage, and supposes him to have been a young clergyman just from the university when the expedition to Sagadahoc was undertaken. Proof of such connection, however, is at present wanting. *Vide An Address delivered at the Erection of a Monumental Stone in the Walls of Fort Popham, etc.*, by John A. Poor, New York, 1863, Appendix, note B.

under the spreading branches of the great trees, which afforded a grateful shelter from the August sun; the laws which were brought out of England, and which were to govern them in their new home, were read, and their rulers formally announced, namely: George Popham, president; Raleigh Gilbert, admiral; Edward Harlow, master of ordnance; Robert Davis, sergeant-major; James Davis,¹¹⁶ captain of the fort; Richard Seymour, chaplain; Elias Best, marshal; and George Carew, searher. They had also a physician for the colony, Mr. Turner. These, or all but the three last, constituted a board of assistants.

Thus was inaugurated, under all the necessary forms of law, the first New England colony. On the next day they began breaking ground for their fort and storehouse; and the ship carpenters, who had been sent from England, and at whose head was Master-carpenter Digby, of London, applied themselves to cutting timber for the construction of a small vessel to be called the *Virginia*, in honor of their new home. The colonists appear to have worked diligently under the direction of Popham; but unity of purpose was wanting among them. Two months after their arrival the *Mary and John* was despatched to England¹¹⁷ to carry the news of their safe arrival and to get supplies. This ship reached the port of Plymouth on the first

¹¹⁶ Capt. James Davis went to Virginia, where he was captain of the fort at Point Comfort in 1612. He accompanied the expedition of 1609 in the *Virginia*, built by Popham at Sagadahoc; and with him Master Davis, probably the Robert Davis who was one of the Popham Colony. *Vide Vir-*

ginia Carolorum, by Edward D. Neill, Albany, 1886, p. 30; *History of the Virginia Company of London*, by Edward D. Neill, Albany, 1869, pp. 30. 37

¹¹⁷ She probably sailed on or immediately after the 26th of September. Further reference to this may be found in note 120.

first day of December, and Gorges at once hastened, "late at night," to inform Cecil by letter of the fact.¹¹⁸ He told the Secretary that the colony had settled in a fertile country with "gallant rivers, stately harbors, and a people tractable;" but he feared, as the ship had brought back nothing to satisfy the expectation of the adventurers, that the enterprise might be brought into disrepute. He had also, at this early day, received news of trouble among the colonists, caused by "the defect and want of understanding of some of those employed to perform what they were directed unto, from whence there did not only proceed confusion, but, through pride and arrogance, faction and private resolution." He forwarded through Cecil a report of the colony to Sir Francis Popham; his father, the Lord Chief Justice Popham, having died on the 10th of the preceding June, less than two weeks after the departure of the colony from England.

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Gorges expatiated upon the fertility of the soil, the boldness of the coast, the abundance of fish and timber, "goodly oaks and cedars with infinite other sorts of trees," upon the grapes suitable for wine, "like the claret wine that comes out of France," the rosin, hemp, and rich furs; but of mines the colonists as yet had found none.

In this letter the first note of warning was given against the French, who were aiming for the same prize. He accompanied this communication with one from Challons, still a prisoner in Spain, and pleaded for action in his behalf and that of the other prisoners there. There can be little doubt that

¹¹⁸ *Vide* Letter of Sir Ferdinando Gorges to Secretary Cecil, Hatfield House, *et postea*.

that Gorges not only sat up late that night, but passed much of the succeeding day in gathering particulars concerning the colony at Sagadahoc; and he learned many things respecting it, as we know from a most interesting letter which he sent to Cecil on the 3d of December. This letter, for the first time, introduces us to George Popham and Raleigh Gilbert, the son of Sir Humphrey. The Popham whom we have before us "*is an honest man, but old and of an unwieldy body, and timorously fearful to offend, or contest with others that will or do oppose him, but, otherwise, a discrete, careful man;*" while Raleigh Gilbert is a man "*desirous of supremacy and rule,*" of "*a loose life, prompt to sensuality,*" with "*little zeal for religion; humorous, headstrong, and of small judgement and experience, otherwise valiant enough.*" These are word pictures of the men, of great value to us. We here learn for the first time one of the principal causes of discontent in the colony.

Raleigh Gilbert, in his explorations of the beautiful shores of Maine, had begun to realize something of their future value, and was reminded of his father's charter:¹¹⁹ a shadowy title most certainly to the shores of Maine; but nevertheless to his fervid mind a title, which he discussed with his co-colonists, doubtless with more zeal than discretion. How could King James give away territory to another, already granted by charter to his ancestor? It seemed unfair to him, and, the property being his own, "*he will not be put out of it in haste;*" hence Gilbert wrote letters to his friends in England to come over to Sagadahoc and strengthen

¹¹⁹ The charter before alluded to, granted in 1578.

strengthen his hands. These letters Gorges found were still on board the *Mary and John*, and he suggested to Cecil that he should send orders for their interception. Sir Ferdinando especially commended to the Secretary the physician, Mr. Turner, who had been sent home to England to give a particular account of the colony and to solicit supplies for it. He spoke approvingly of the Rev. Mr. Seymour and Capt. Robert Davis, of the *Mary and John*. Again, Sir Ferdinando urged that "this business should be thoroughly followed," and to ensure the stability of the undertaking, that the King should take it into his own hands, "unto whom of right the conquest of kingdoms doth appertain, and then," he continued, "should I think myself most happy to receive such employment in it as his highness should think me fit for, and I would not doubt, but with a very little charge to bring to pass infinite things." He also sent to the Secretary "the Journals that were taken by one of the ships,"¹²⁰ as he had received them "from their

¹²⁰ This fixes very nearly the date of the sailing of the *Mary and John*, which has heretofore been supposed to have sailed on the 15th of December. One of these "Journals" is without doubt the manuscript not long since discovered at Lambeth Palace, purporting to have been written by a person on the *Mary and John*, and bearing the endorsement that it was found among the papers of Sir Ferdinando Gorges. This Journal ends on the 26th of September, and is a particular record of events to that date. It ends with the statement that it is "the Relation of the whole Voyage to Virginia, New England, 1607." The other of "the Journals" which, if still in existence, has unfortunately for

our present better understanding of the subject not yet come to light, contained, according to the declaration of Gorges, an account of the homeward voyage and doubtless many particulars of an interesting and instructive nature. Heretofore much has been written based upon the supposition that but one vessel, the *Mary and John*, returned to England, and that she sailed on the 15th of December, 1607, and carried back not only the news of Chief Justice Popham's death, but also of Sir John Gilbert's. In order to reconcile the account of the colony's out-of-door work, which it was said was going on when she left, with the theory that the date of her sailing was on December 15th

their going out until their return," by which the navigation would appear to be "as easy as to Newfoundland, but much more hopeful."

Let us now return to the colonists. After the departure of the *Mary and John* they continued their work, completing their fort, upon which they mounted twelve guns. They also erected a church and fifty dwellings, and launched their new ship the *Virginia*.¹²¹ Nor did they neglect explorations; for Gilbert ranged the coast as far west as Richmond's Island, and east to Pemaquid, examining the inlets and rivers in a careful manner.

On the 15th of December Popham despatched the *Gift of God* to England, upon which he sent his well-known letter to King James, bearing date the 13th of December. Any one who carefully reads this letter must be convinced that the writer's heart was in the matter, and that he fully believed in the ultimate success of the enterprise which he had undertaken, although he was obliged, on account of the

15th, learned and labored articles have been penned to show that the winter was unusually mild up to this date, — a winter which, by the colonists' account, was extremely severe. It has been attempted to account for the two ships and also for the pinnace *Virginia*; but all such attempts have failed. No subject in the history of Maine has been more discussed, and much misdirected enthusiasm and sarcastic detraction have been expended upon it. The letters of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, which now for the first time see the light, settle difficulties which were before unsolvable, many of which were created by Sir Ferdinando himself in his *Brief Narrative*, written in his old age, and long after

the events which were recorded in these letters took place.

¹²¹ This vessel, built at Sagadahoc by the colonists, was afterwards employed in Virginia. She sailed with the Somers and Gates Colony from Plymouth for Jamestown on the 1st of June, 1609, just two years after the Popham colonists departed from the same port. Her commander was Capt. James Davis, whilom of the *Mary and John*; and she reached Jamestown in August, after encountering a severe storm. Thus in Maine was constructed the first ship which was built in North America. *Vide History of the Virginia Company of London*, by Edward D. Neill, Albany, 1869, pp. 29 et seq.

the scarcity of provisions, to send home all but forty-five of his company.¹²² He was in a new country, surrounded by perils, with men under his command upon whom he could but poorly depend; yet his enthusiasm, with the resilient temper of a Damascus blade, could not be broken, however hard the obstacle which it encountered; and we are fain to believe that, had his life been continued, his colony at Sagadahoc would have been firmly established and perpetuated. He fully realized the instability of an undertaking like this in which he was engaged, based, so far as financial support was concerned, largely upon the hope of gain; and he was anxious beyond measure to interest the King in its importance to the kingdom, and thereby to draw to it governmental support: hence this letter to James. The managers of the enterprise, doubtless from the first, hoped to gain government aid, which we find Gorges openly soliciting at this time, but unsuccessfully. The successful colonization of New England required a main spring of finer stuff than could be wrought by aristocratic craftsmen; and this project was to fail in spite of the efforts of a few earnest spirits like Southampton, Popham, and Gorges.

The second vessel of the colonists, the *Gift of God*, reached Plymouth harbor on the 7th of February, and Gorges hastened to advise Cecil of the fact by letter, and of the news she brought of the severity of the weather, which had been great, and the factious proceedings of some of the

¹²² This we are told by Harlow in Smith, Richmond, 1819, Vol. II. p. his *Relation*. *Vide The Generall History of Virginia*, by Captaine John King, Public Records Office, *et postea*. 174; Letter of George Popham to the

the colonists.¹²³ This vessel had returned "without any commodity," which was discouraging to the adventurers, although Gorges, with great good sense, reminded his correspondent that immediate returns from an unexplored and savage country ought not to be looked for, such being the result of art and industry; but as he feared that it would be difficult to go forward, he looked hopefully to the "chief spring of our happiness," the King, who finally would reap the benefit of the adventurers' toil. The view that Gorges took of the importance to the realm of colonizing the new country was statesmanlike. He declared that its effect would be the "increase of the king's navy; the breeding of mariners; the employment of the people; the filling the world with expectation and satisfying his subjects with hopes, who now are sick in despair, and in time will prove desperate through necessity;"¹²⁴ besides, he said that by engaging in the noble work of colonization, the King would gain for himself and his posterity a property of great value, which, if abandoned, would be seized upon by neighboring princes and employed to make them powerful. Already were the French instigating the native inhabitants to hostility against the English; and he begged the King to adventure a small ship of the middle class with a pinnace, under the royal commission, to give countenance and authority

¹²³ *Vide* Letter of Sir Ferdinando Gorges to Secretary Cecil, Hatfield House, *et postea*.

¹²⁴ One who has not read the annals of these times can hardly realize how desperate was the condition of the people of England. Food was scarce,

and thousands could obtain no employment; hence many took to the highways for subsistence, making it dangerous to traverse the country without a sufficient escort for protection. Crime was common, and its punishment sharp and severe.

thority to the worthy enterprise. If this could be done, he promised that they should be victualled by the adventurers and the whole coast explored to Virginia; indeed, that he would undertake to go himself as commander if he were thought worthy to be the man.

+ This letter does honor to the head and heart of its author, and is worthy of a careful perusal; but to any one who has studied the character of James and this period of his reign, the futility of such an appeal is apparent. The weak monarch was more interested in getting a hawk or flying-squirrel from the New World than in colonizing it. Could Gorges have looked across the ocean and seen the little colony at Sagadahoc at the moment when he penned his letter, his heart would have sunk within him. But two days before, George Popham, the governing spirit of the colony, had died, and the sole command had devolved upon Gilbert; but Gorges, in ignorance of the great calamity which was to prove the death-blow to his present hopes, put all his energies into the work of getting supplies to the hungry colonists.

The next letter which we have from him was written on the 20th of March following.¹²⁶ He began by referring to Challons and his companions, prisoners in Spain, and enclosed a letter to Cecil to show that statesman what effect his endeavors on behalf of the prisoners had produced, and suggested that if the King did not choose to sustain the rights of his subjects, he might "give his servants leave to use their best means to right themselves of this their insupportable wrongs,

¹²⁶ *Vide* Letter of Sir Ferdinando Gorges to Secretary Cecil, Hatfield House, *et postea*. *ibid.*

wrongs, provided that they violate no article of peace further than they (the Spaniards) have done in this."¹²⁶ By this letter

¹²⁶ This letter and several others given in this work show the impropriety of basing arguments simply upon the absence of evidence to prove the contrary. In a discussion of the historical claims of the Popham Colony some years since, Mr. William Frederick Poole, in his zeal to overthrow the exaggerated claims which had been put forth to prove this colony to have been "*the nursery* of the Plymouth Colony," wrote as follows:—

"The improbability that this 'new pynname' was seaworthy and made a voyage across the Atlantic, will appear from the following considerations:—

"1. There was not time between the 15th of December and Spring to build a sea-worthy vessel. There were but forty-five persons left in the colony, and this number was reduced before Spring by disease and squabbles with the Indians. There were probably not ten carpenters in the company. The Winter, we are told, was unseasonable and intensely severe. Strachey says, that, 'after Capt. Davies's departure, they fully finished the fort, trench and fortified it with 12 pieces of ordnance, and built 50 houses, besides a church and storehouse,'—sufficient work, we might suppose, to employ forty-five Old Bailey convicts till Spring, without building a sea-going vessel. If Strachey does not tell the truth in this matter, we know nothing at all about this vessel.

"2. They had no need of a sea-going vessel. These were furnished by the English undertakers. What they needed was a small craft in which to take fish along shore.—There was no intention of abandoning the Popham settlement till Capt. Davies returned in the Spring with the news that their patron saint,

Sir John Popham, surnamed 'the hangman,' was dead.

"3. We know that the Popham colonists were knaves; but it is not necessary to infer that they were fools. The graduates of penal institutions have usually as keen a regard for their corporal safety as other persons. Cowardice is commonly their ruling characteristic. Is it reasonable to suppose that any of that godless company would have risked their lives to a voyage across the Atlantic in that 'pretty pynname,' built of green pine in midwinter, when they could have had safe and comfortable quarters in the *Mary and John*?—The assertion that the vessel made the voyage is purely gratuitous."

Let us examine the errors in the foregoing extracts:—

(1) The supposition that the *Virginia* was built in midwinter was based upon another supposition, which was erroneous; namely, that the *Mary and John* failed in midwinter, when in fact she failed in early autumn, at which time it was stated that the "pynname" was not finished. They had ample time, however, before midwinter to complete it.

(2) The *Virginia* did reach England, and under the command of Capt. James Davis sailed for the New World, in company with eight other ships, on June 1st, 1609, from the harbor of Plymouth. The fleet encountered a storm of unusual severity; but the *Virginia* rode it out, and landed her passengers safely at Jamestown, showing that she must have been a staunch vessel. That there can be no mistake about this, it is said that she was "built in the North colony."

(3) The supposition that there were but forty-five men left to finish the pynname

letter we learn that he had succeeded in victualling two ships for the colonists, and had already sent them from Topsham, and would be able to send a third, in May, of two hundred tons' burden. "We frame," he said, "unto ourselves many reasons of infinite good, that is likely to befall our country, if our means fail not to accomplish it. But we hope before summer be past, to give such satisfaction to the world hereof, as none that be lovers of their nation, but will (for one cause or other) be willing to wish it well at the least, what crosses soever we have received heretofore."

The two first-named vessels, one of which was the *Mary and John*, sailed from Topsham probably in March, and bore the news to the colonists of the death of Chief Justice Popham, which had occurred in the preceding June;¹²⁷ but when

nance and houses, and perform all the other necessary labor after the departure of the *Mary and John*, is also based upon the erroneous supposition that she did not sail until December 15th. When she sailed, the colony was all there, and completed the *Virginia*, houses, and fort before the *Gift* sailed, which was on the supposed date of the sailing of the *Mary and John*. This fact explains the difficulty fully.

Vide The Popham Colony (P.), Boston, 1866, pp. 9 et seq.; *History of the Virginia Company of London*, by Edward D. Neill, Albany, 1869, p. 30; *Generall Historie of Virginia*, by Captaine John Smith, Richmond, 1819, Vol. II. p. 174; *Historie of Travaile into Virginia*, by William Strachey, Maine Historical Collections, Vol. III. p. 308; Domestic Correspondence, James I., Vol. XLVII. No. 50. Vol. LXXIX. p. 268, Public Records Office.

¹²⁷ This is in exact accordance with the relation of Edward Harlow, one of

the council of the Popham Colony, a man who was personally familiar with all the events: yet historians have persisted in adopting Strachey's account, an author who received his information wholly from others. By taking Harlow's account and Strachey's together, with the letters of Gorges before us, we get at the truth of the matter. Harlow says: "Their noble President Captain Popham died, and not long after arrived two ships well provided of all necessaries to supply them, and some small time after, another, by whom understanding of the death of the Lord Chief Justice, and also of Sir John Gilbert, they all returned to England in the year 1608." And take Strachey's account, with respect to the *Mary and John*: "You may please to understand how—soon after their first arrival, that [they] had dispatched away Captain Robert Davies in the *Mary and John*, to advertise of their safe arrival and forwardness of their plantation." The reason why these relations,

when he arrived at Sagadahoc, George Popham was not alive to hear the tidings of his brother's death. He had himself died during the severe winter which had passed, and Raleigh Gilbert had succeeded him in office. The colony, however, was in good condition. They had comfortable dwellings and a considerable stock of furs collected; besides, their vessel, the *Virginia*, was afloat and ready for explorations during the summer. But tidings were then on the way which were destined to deal a finishing stroke to the enterprise.

In July, 1608, the third ship of two hundred tons was freighted with necessary stores for the colony, which displays the zeal of Sir Ferdinando Gorges and his associates, Sir Francis Popham and others, in the enterprise, which, it is evident, they intended to make permanent; indeed, they do not seem to have considered the possibility of a failure. While this ship was spreading her sails to the winds which would waft her across the Atlantic, tidings were carried to her of the death of Sir John Gilbert, the elder brother of Raleigh Gilbert. When this intelligence reached Sagadahoc, it caused a commotion. Raleigh Gilbert, who had succeeded George Popham as governor, was the heir of his brother, and it was imperative that he should return and take charge of his inheritance; indeed, to remain away would imperil his interests too greatly to allow him to consider the subject of

as well as the *Briefe Narration* of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, have heretofore been misunderstood, is because events happening at periods remote from one another have been brought within the compass of a few lines without explanation. With the letters of Gorges

in one's hand, the difficulties vanish, and everything becomes clear. *Vide The General History of Virginia*, by Captain John Smith, Richmond, 1819, Vol. II. p. 174; *The Historie of Travels into Virginia*, by William Strachey, Maine Historical Collections, Vol. III. p. 308.

of retaining his command at Sagadahoc, however much his heart was in the enterprize. There seems to have been no one to take his place; and without a head the colony, as it was constituted, could not hold together. Probably the three ships which had been sent with supplies bore emigrants to the colony; but if so, they were probably but poor men, like all the rest.¹²⁸ There was nothing to do apparently but to break up and return home. Had the colony contained a few governing minds, the result would have been different; but as it was, all took passage with Gilbert for home, and Sabino was abandoned.

While these transactions were taking place, Gorges was at his post at Plymouth, and on May 2d was penning a letter to Cecil, advising him of the escape from a Spanish prison of Captain Challons, whom he had sent upon the first expedition to America. The unfortunate Challons had escaped, but reached Plymouth in so miserable a condition as to be unable to journey to London to bear the news of his escape to Cecil;¹²⁹ but Gorges took the occasion to read that

¹²⁸ We have no direct statement that these vessels bore colonists to the Sagadahoc; yet it seems hardly probable that three ships with all the necessary stores for the colonists, whose original number had been greatly reduced, should have been sent out without any recruits. There was a plethora of poor, indeed of almost starving people in England, to whom a voyage to any country where food could be obtained would have been a blessing; besides, as the slightest offences were severely punished, there were always many people who were glad to escape the terrors of the law by any

means; perhaps some of the original colonists were of this class; hence it would be surprising if no persons were sent out by these vessels to strengthen the colony at Sabino. The Indians boasted to Père Biard, in 1611, that they killed eleven of the colonists before their departure; but English accounts are silent on the subject. *Vide Première Mission des Jésuites à Canada.* Par Le Père Auguste Carayon, Paris, 1864, pp. 70 et seq.; *Relation de la Nouvelle France.* Par Le P. Pierre Biard, à Lyon, MDCXVI. p. 179.

¹²⁹ These letters reveal the earnest

that statesman a lesson on the folly of attempting to maintain a hollow peace with enemies, who were availing themselves of every opportunity, which presented itself, of striking a blow at English interests. Not only did Gorges tell Cecil that the perfidious Spaniard spoke basely and unworthily of the English King, but that the English policy caused them to prognosticate the downfall of Cecil himself, and he assured him that he feared to write what discontent the many accounts of Spanish cruelty, brought home by returning mariners, had bred among the multitude; in fact, the peace with Spain was most unpopular with the people, and every story of Spanish wrong helped to blow the sparks of discontent into a flame, which threatened the safety of the Government.

When the vessels bearing the returning colonists arrived in England, and Gorges realized that the colony had ended its career, his grief and discontent were great; and years after, when writing on the subject, it found expression in that graphic sentence, "All our former hopes were frozen to death." But he was not a man to sit down in despair. His energy and sagacity would not allow one failure or two to drive him from an enterprise in which he had faith; and although all thought of colonial undertaking was "wholly given

efforts which were made by Gorges and his associates to obtain the release of Challons and his co-prisoners; yet we are told that the loss of Challons's ship and outfit "was suitably lamented; but not one word of sympathy was expressed by the old writers for the persons enslaved by the Spaniards; nor did Popham, so far as we know, make any attempt to rescue them from their hard

fate; but 'prepared a greater number of planters,' who afterwards landed at Sabino. If it is pretended that the first company were honest, worthy men, the assumption carries with it the necessary inference that Popham was a heartless wretch; but, assuming that they also were criminals, it was natural that he should leave them to their fate." *Vide The Popham Colony*, Boston, 1866, pp. 28 et seq.

given over by the body of the adventurers," he was firm in his determination to go forward as best he could, "not doubting but God would effect that which men despaired of;" and as he could get no help from others, he "became owner of a ship—fit for that employment," and "under color of fishing and trade" sent her across the Atlantic.

The Council of the London or Southern Virginia Company, hearing of the failure of the Sagadahoc enterprise, threw out their lines to win those of Plymouth to join them in their efforts at colonization. To this end they addressed a letter to the Corporation of Plymouth, setting forth the superior advantages of their more southern possessions,¹²⁰ and gathered their ships in Plymouth harbor in the spring of 1609, from whence they sailed on June 1st for Jamestown, with a large number of colonists.¹²¹ How many vessels were sent out by members of the Plymouth Company we know not; but it is certain, as previously noted, that the *Virginia*, the vessel built at Sagadahoc and belonging to Gorges and his co-adventurers, went with the fleet. From this time frequent voyages for fishing and trade were made to the coast of Northern Virginia. Monhegan¹²² and the neighboring coasts being principally sought; and in many of these was Gorges interested.

The

¹²⁰ *Vide* Letter of the Council of the Virginia Company to Sir Ferdinando Gorges in the Corporation Archives of Plymouth, England, *et postea*, dated February 17th, 1608.

¹²¹ *Vide* Domestic Correspondence, James I., Vol. XLVII. No. 50; *Ibid.*, Vol. L. No. 65, Public Records Office.

¹²² Monhegan, which is about twenty-five miles east of the mouth of the Ken-

nebec, is the most noted in early annals of the islands on the coast of Maine. Its greatest altitude is 140 feet above the sea-level, and its area comprises about one thousand acres. It has a good harbor, which made it the resort of early navigators and the seat of a considerable trade between the aborigines of the neighborhood and foreign traders in the seventeenth century. The earliest de-

The office of Principal Secretary of State was vacated by Cecil in 1608, at which time he became Lord High Treasurer; and the correspondence of Gorges with him at this interesting period unfortunately ceases. A few letters and other papers relating to Gorges have, however, found their way into the Office of the Public Records, the British Museum, and the Corporation Archives of Plymouth.

The minds of thoughtful men like Gorges were at this time much exercised by the condition of affairs in England, and great discontent prevailed among all classes, owing to the position which England occupied with relation to Spain. By a prolonged conference between Spain and Holland, in which England and France played the rôle of mediators, an armistice preparatory to a treaty was secured between Holland and Spain; but James was distrusted and despised by his contemporaries, and Prince Maurice openly told the British ministers that their sovereign had not the courage to wag his tongue against the Spanish King. This contemptuous treatment of their royal master, who assumed such lofty airs among his subjects, was a source of constant mortification to the proud spirits of Englishmen. But James himself was too self-complacent to share this mortification. He gloried in his theological valor, and disported himself marvellously in the lists of theological controversy. With intellectual rule and plummet, he never hesitated to sound the deepest abysses of speculation, or measure the loftiest

scription which we possess of the island was made by Rosier in 1605, at which time George Waymouth bestowed upon it the name of St. George. Shortly after, Champlain named it *La Nef*, on account of its fancied resemblance to a ship; but it soon resumed its aboriginal name of Monhegan.

loftiest theory, and always with satisfaction to himself. It was not sufficient for him to do battle at home against the Puritans on the one hand and the Roman Catholics on the other, but he must meddle with the theological controversies which were going on in Holland, to the disgust of that people, who resented his interference, preferring to enjoy by themselves the luxury of fighting over the mysteries of predestination, grace, free will, and universal salvation. But the British monarch was not to be kept out of the lists, and he entered heartily into the conflict, assuming infallibility in deciding questions of heresy, without a consciousness of the ridiculous figure he was cutting.¹³³ In the meantime his subjects were groaning under burdens almost too grievous to bear; and while some were on the verge of breaking out into open rebellion, others were resorting to piracy in defiance of a monarch who wasted his energies in defence of unprofitable speculations, instead of employing them in the creation of a navy for the protection of his commerce.

The situation of affairs in England is well described in two letters which have come down to us written by Gorges¹³⁴ in 1611, and bearing the respective dates of July 5th and January 4th. He called the attention of Salisbury to the terrible condition of English commerce. The coasts of the kingdom

¹³³ *Vide An Historical and Critical Account of the Lives and Writings of James I., etc.*, by William Harris, London, 1814, Vol. I. pp. 133, 143; *The Life and Reign of James the First*, by Arthur Wilson, Esq., in *A Complete History of England*, London, 1706, Vol. II. pp. 715-717; *Memorials of Affairs of State in the Reigns of Elizabeth and K. James I.*, by Sir Ralph Winwood, London, 1725, Vol. III. pp. 293-296, 304 *et seq.*, 316-320, 357.

¹³⁴ These letters of Sir Ferdinando Gorges to Secretary Cecil are preserved in the archives of Hatfield House, and are printed in this work.

kingdom were scoured by piratical vessels manned by English adventurers, who being debarred the privilege of preying upon the plethoric galleons of Spain, were perforce obliged to take tribute from the ships of their own nation, though they might bear but lean emigrants to a far-off shore, or poor fishermen to the perils of the North Sea. He sent Salisbury the affidavits of some of the sufferers, and particulars of the manner of their rough treatment by the barbarous freebooters, who to their other sins added that of insulting the King and scorning the Government. Indeed, there was "a general exclamation made by the subject," especially by the merchants, whose trade was the life of the realm; and Sir Ferdinando declared that he was obliged, in the proper discharge of his duty, to call attention to the necessity which existed of suppressing "them that are such cankers, *fretting even unto the marrow;*" a task which he believed it would not be difficult to accomplish if all "were done that might be." Yet he told Salisbury that, owing to "these peaceable times," the multitude out of employment was increasing, and that many were forced by necessity to seek wages to sustain themselves; and he pointed out a possible way for the kingdom to relieve itself of this dangerous class, using these words: "To meet with these necessities, the Ages past hath employed great cost in the planting of Colonies in barbarous and unhabited parts of the world, to the great honor of these Princes, and peace of the time wherein they lived." In an affidavit accompanying his letter of July 5th, the number of Englishmen engaged in piracy along the English coast was stated to be two thousand, and of ships forty. It became,

became, indeed, a serious question, whether a pardon should be extended to these wild rovers, by which means they might become efficient to the King in case of war, or to attempt to punish them, and by so doing, perhaps drive them to enter the service of a foreign prince, to the possible injury of the realm. Gorges seems to have favored the conciliatory plan, and doubtless hoped to make good colonists out of some of this dangerous class of adventurers, who, he said, "threaten the world, and give it out they expect to be called in very shortly by his Majesty's pardon for 40,000 pounds."

With this letter the correspondence with Salisbury ended. That statesman, who had attained almost supreme power in the land, died on the 24th of May, 1612; and Buckingham, a man greatly his inferior, reigned in his stead. Doubtless a correspondence with Buckingham was carried on by Sir Ferdinando; but if so, it has not been preserved. He was still, however, at his post at Plymouth, and still cherished hopes of colonizing Northern Virginia.

Affairs in England were in a worse condition than ever. Intrigue and corruption held sway at court; discontent and treason lurked in hall and hovel, while bigotry was on the alert for victims to send to the rack and the stake.¹⁸⁶ No wonder that men turned their thoughts to a country where such things existed not, though the way thither was beset

¹⁸⁶ *Vide Secret History of the Court of James the First*, Edinburgh, 1811, Vol. I. pp. 397 *et passim*; *The Court and Times of James the First*, by Thomas Birch, D.D., London, 1849, Vol. I. pp. 164, 171, 174 *et passim*; *The Court of King James the First*, by Dr. Godfrey Goodman, London, 1839, Vol. I. pp. 264-266; *The Life and Reign of James the First*, by Arthur Willon, Esq., in *A Complete History of England*, London, 1706, Vol. II. pp. 687-690.

befet with perils. Since the return of the Sagadahoc colonists, Gorges and Popham had continued to send ships for fishing and trade to the North Virginian coast, and other adventurers had followed their example. The French had been particularly active, and had encroached upon the territory of the Plymouth Company; but their colony had been broken up by an expedition sent from the South Virginia Colony.¹⁸⁶ The zeal of the French, however, seems not to have served in any marked degree to stimulate the Plymouth Company to effort, and nothing was undertaken by that Company towards utilizing its charter.

In the year 1614 Capt. John Smith, then of the Southern Colony, having returned to England on account of trouble with his co-adventurers in establishing that colony, managed to procure two ships, one of which he placed in command of Thomas Hunt, and on March 3d he sailed from London on a whaling voyage to Sagadahoc, and to explore a mine of gold and copper supposed to be in the vicinity. If these failed to yield a return, fish and furs were to be sought as a last resort. Smith reached Monhegan in April, where he found a ship belonging to "Sir Francis Popham, that had there such acquaintance, having many years used only that port, that the most part there was had by him." Smith, although not successful in his whaling, succeeded in getting a fair stock of fish and furs, and leaving Hunt to find his way to Spain with a portion of the fish which had been taken,¹⁸⁷ he himself returned home, entering the

¹⁸⁶ *Vide* French Correspondence, H. de Montmorency to King James I., October 18th, 1613, Public Records Office.

¹⁸⁷ *Vide The Generall Historie of Virginia, etc.*, by Captaine John Smith, Richmond, 1819, Vol. II. pp. 175 *et seq.*

the port of Plymouth, where he met his "honorable friend Sir Ferdinando Gorges," and imparted to him the story of his successful voyage and his future purposes.

So much was Gorges impressed by Smith's glowing recitals, that he at once opened negotiations with him to return and attempt a settlement in "New England," as Smith had named the region hitherto called North Virginia. Smith entertained the proposition of Gorges favorably, and departed for London to settle his affairs with the London Company. At this time Gorges had a ship on the New England coast, which he had despatched the June previous, and which was in command of Captain Hobson, who had with him three natives of the country; but owing to bad management, Hobson's voyage was a failure, and he returned empty.¹⁸⁸

Two months after Smith's arrival at Plymouth, Sir Richard Hawkins, having been chosen president of the Plymouth Company, undertook in its behalf a voyage to "New England," as we shall now call the country; but when he arrived there, he found the natives engaged in war, which caused him to sail along the coast, fishing and trading until he reached the Southern Colony. From thence he sailed for Spain, with such commodities as he had gathered, and finally reached England in safety, but without having accomplished anything of material benefit to the Company.¹⁸⁹

During this time, however, Smith had returned to Plymouth,

¹⁸⁸ *Vide A Description of New England*, by Captain John Smith, Boston, 1865, pp. 66-69; *A Briefe Narration*, by Sir Ferdinando Gorges, pp. 26-28, *et postea*.

¹⁸⁹ *Vide A Briefe Narration*, by Sir Ferdinando Gorges, p. 28, *et postea*. The account of this voyage is provokingly meagre.

mouth, but was disappointed, he says, to find that four ships which were to have been ready for him by the Christmas following were not forthcoming. While he was at London settling his affairs with the London Company, an expedition had been organized by that enterprising guild in which he was urged to embark; hence his disappointment was great at finding that no steps had been taken by the Plymouth Company to furnish him with the necessary outfit for the contemplated voyage to New England. This failure on the part of Gorges and his associates to supply Smith with the means of undertaking a second voyage to their possessions over the seas was caused, he tells us, "by the bad return of the ship" that "went for gold;" or, in other words, the ship despatched the June previous by Gorges, under the command of Hobson. Suffice it to say, however, that "at last, with a labyrinth of trouble," he was supplied with two ships, one of two hundred, and another of fifty tons, as he says, by many of his London friends "and Sir Ferdinando Gorges, a noble Knight, and a great favorer of those actions, who persuaded Doctor Sutcliffe, the Dean of Exeter, and several Western Merchants" to take a hand in the enterprise.

The design of Gorges in this undertaking was to have Smith settle in the country with four gentlemen, eight soldiers, and four others, who "were to learn to be sailors;" but Smith had hardly lost sight of the coast of England when the larger vessel of his command, in which he himself was, broke her masts, and he was obliged to put back to Plymouth for repairs. The vessel was evidently unfit for the voyage; and at last, on the 24th of June, 1615, in a
little

little vessel of but sixty tons' burden, Smith again spread his sails to the winds, and with the heart of a man who loves adventure and peril, turned his prow towards his worthily named New England. But the Fates were this time against him, and after eluding the pirates, which hovered like birds of prey upon his track, he was at last captured by a French cruiser, of a semi-piratical character, and after many adventures found his way back to Plymouth, where he does not appear to have been cordially received; in fact, he complains that he found himself distrusted, and that wild stories were afloat that the commodities which he brought home from his successful voyage in 1614 had been piratically taken from the French, and that they were not the result of honest labor and trade.¹⁰⁰

The failure of this voyage seems not to have discouraged Smith, who at once proceeded to publish *A Description of New England*, which was written while he was a prisoner on the French cruiser, and which did much towards disseminating the truth regarding a country which had been under a ban since the return of the unfortunate Popham colonists.

Although Sir Ferdinando Gorges had again been baffled in his attempts to plant a colony in New England, he was not discouraged. He had for some time been "owner of a ship—fit for that employment," as has before been stated, which it is probable had made several voyages to the coast of New England, "under color of fishing and trade," and during the season of 1616 he despatched her thither:

¹⁰⁰ *Vide A Description of New England*, by Captain John Smith, Boston, 1865, pp. 67-77.

thither: Richard Vines, a man of energy and good judgment, who is supposed to have made previous voyages to the same coast, going in her. Vines and other servants of Gorges landed at the mouth of the Saco river, and spent the winter there in the cabins of the savages, who had suffered severely in the wars which had been going on among them, and perhaps still more by a deadly disease against which their feeble remedies were powerless, and which Gorges denominates a plague. Of the result of this voyage we have no account; but we know that Vines returned safely to England, and we shall see that he subsequently established a colony upon his old camping-grounds at the mouth of the Saco.

In the meantime Smith was not idle, and after great effort succeeded in enlisting members of the Plymouth Company and others in another adventure to New England, and gathering three ships and a small colony of fifteen persons at Plymouth, early in the year 1617, he prepared again to push his adventurous prow westward; but he suffered the bitter disappointment of lying wind-bound for three months, and was finally obliged to abandon the enterprise.¹⁴¹ From this time all relations between him and Sir Ferdinando ceased; indeed, in the various expeditions to New England in which he became interested, Sir Ferdinando entirely ignored the redoubtable hero of hair-breadth escapes and marvellous adventures, which plainly indicates that he did not regard him with the admiration so fully bestowed upon him by contemporaries less experienced in the knowledge of men than the more practical "Father of American Colonization."

There

¹⁴¹ *Vide Purchas his Pilgrimes*, Vol. IV. p. 1839.

There is a gap in the correspondence of Gorges of six years after his last letter to Salisbury, and the next letter which we find bears the date of July 16th, 1617, and is addressed to the Privy Council. The theme is the same as that of his last letter to the dead statesman; namely, the pirates, who interfered with the commerce of the country and interrupted his New England enterprises. This time, however, the pirates of whom he complains were Turkish, and not English, yet practically they were the same; for the English pirates, being more skilful navigators, and finding it more profitable and safe, were now in command of the piratical vessels of Turks and Moors.

From this letter it appears that a proposition to the Plymouth merchants to fit out an expedition against these pirates had been made; but while they were in deliberation over the matter, they learned that a monopoly had been granted to the Levant Company, and that traffic in certain goods which they had been engaged in importing was prohibited, which discouraged them, as this monopoly was destructive to their trade.

Sir Ferdinando advised the Council that if it would suppress the pirates, it had better prohibit all trade with the Turks, withdraw its ambassador, and declare war. If this were done, he said, "there are many in this country that will presently employ the greatest part of their fortunes upon these adventures."¹²³

A few weeks before this, Sir Ferdinando had seen Raleigh with

¹²³ *Vide* Letter of Sir Ferdinando Correspondence, James I., Vol. XCII.
Gorges to the Privy Council, Domestic No. 92, Public Records Office.

with his fleet of eleven ships sail out of Plymouth harbor, on that last unfortunate voyage to find for James a goldmine in Guiana, to undertake which adventure he had been liberated from a cruel imprisonment of thirteen years. In this adventure Gorges must have taken a deep interest; and the return, a few months later, of his unfortunate kinsman, bereft of his gallant son, ruined in fortune and in sore peril of his life, must have moved his heart to grief. To him, assisted by the Mayor of Plymouth and Deputy Vice-Admiral, was assigned the task of receiving the *Destiny*, Raleigh's ship, and making an inventory of the furniture and goods which she contained; and on November 2d, four days after Raleigh's execution, he reported to the Council that the task was completed.¹⁴³

At this time the interest in colonization had become general. Capt. John Smith was still laboring to bring his *New England* into repute, and in a letter to Lord Bacon he offered to adventure with five thousand pounds "to bring wealth, honor, and a kingdom" to the King's posterity.¹⁴⁴

Newfoundland, New England, Virginia, and even South America were attracting the attention of English adventurers. Although the Spaniards claimed the latter country, Thomas Locke wrote to Sir Dudley Carleton of an important enterprise, then in process of organization, to establish a colony upon the river Amazon, "near Guiana," in which

¹⁴³ *Vide* Report of Sir Ferdinando Gorges and other Commissioners to the Privy Council, in which they state that they have assisted "in receiving and inventorying the *Destiny* and her furniture, the goods of Sir Walter Raleigh."

November 2d, 1618, Public Records Office.

¹⁴⁴ *Vide* Letter of John Smith to Lord Bacon, 1618; Domestic Correspondence, James I., Public Records Office.

which the Earls of Arundel, Warwick, and others were interested, and over which a brother of Lord North was to be placed as governor.¹⁴⁶

During the year over twelve hundred persons went to Virginia as settlers, more than doubling the previous population. In Holland the Puritans, who had fled from the persecutions of James, were making, with abundant faith, prayerful preparations to cross the sea in search of a home.

Thus far all attempts to found a permanent colony in New England had failed; but the way was now opening to success. The wars between the savage tribes had greatly diminished the number of the native inhabitants; and the long-continued epidemic which followed had swept them away, until but a remnant was left, too weak to oppose successfully any considerable body of colonists; but although the way stood open, and Gorges earnestly desired to plant a colony on the shores of New England, he was destined to disappointment. He had received a letter from Capt. Thomas Dermer, who had previously been with Capt. John Smith in his last unfortunate voyage, but who had accompanied Capt. John Mason to Newfoundland. This letter was written from New England, and was occasioned by a curious incident. It will be remembered that Hunt, who accompanied Smith on his voyage to New England in 1614, treacherously seized a number of savages, and sailing for Spain, there sold them into slavery. One of these savages, Tisquantum, after years of danger and

¹⁴⁶ *Vide* Thomas Locke to Sir Dudley Digges, James I., Vol. CVIII. No. 85, Public Record Office, Domestic Correspondence.

and hardship, had been so fortunate as to get on board an English ship then in the port of Malaga, and at last to find his way to Newfoundland, not many days' journey from his native home. He was in a proper mood to descant warmly upon the beauties of the New England coast, and in Dermer, who had also listened to the glowing descriptions of the same shores by the enthusiastic Smith, he found a ready listener.¹⁴⁶ The result was that Dermer took a journey into New

¹⁴⁶ The history of this Indian, variously called Tisquantum, Tantan, Squanto, Squantum, and Tasquantum, is of such peculiar interest that we will endeavor to trace it.

We are told by Gorges that he was one of the five Indians, "all of one nation, but of several parts and several families," who were seized by George Waymouth in 1605 and brought into Plymouth.

Gorges also tells us that he himself took three of these natives in charge and kept them for three years, gathering from them, in the meantime, all the knowledge he could respecting their country and people. One of these, he tells us, was Tisquantum. It would hardly seem possible that Gorges could have made a mistake respecting this man, whom he had in custody for three years or more, and who subsequently became conspicuous in expeditions sent by himself and others to the coast of New England; yet Rosier, who should be as good authority as Gorges, and who wrote his *Narrative* while the events were fresh in mind, omits Tisquantum's name from his list.

It is impossible to reconcile these discrepancies; and Dr. Burrage, in a note to Rosier's *True Relation*, states it as his belief that Gorges is mistaken in calling him one of Waymouth's Indians, a belief founded upon the ex-

cellent reason that Gorges wrote his *Narration* many years after the occurrence of the events narrated. Such discrepancies are not uncommon with old writers; thus, Gorges himself in *Purchas* tells us that Manawet and Epenow accompanied Hobson on his voyage to New England, while in his *Briefe Narration* he tells us that Assacomet, Wenape, and Epenow accompanied him. Wenape and Manawet, however, are probably but different renderings of one name.

Tisquantum was not a Pemaquid Indian, but belonged to the Patuxets of Cape Cod.

After the possibly erroneous mention made of him by Gorges, he first appears upon the historic scene on board the ship of Capt. John Smith in 1614. Having reached the coast of New England, where he served in the capacity of interpreter between Smith's company and the Indians whom they encountered, Tisquantum was left by Smith, when the latter returned to England, at Cape Cod, in the vicinity of the Indian's native home.

Smith was intending to return to New England to establish a settlement and to carry on trade with the natives there, and hoped, by this magnanimous treatment of Tisquantum, to win the good will of his people and to establish relations with them, which might redound

New England, probably with his savage friend, and was so well pleased with the country that he penned the letter before

dound to the future advantage of himself and his associates.

This wise plan was frustrated, as is related elsewhere, by Smith's dishonest associate, Thomas Hunt, whom he left behind to complete his cargo of fish, and who enticed upwards of twenty of the Indians on board his ship, and closing the hatches upon them set sail for Spain. One of these captives was Tisquantum, who, being without suspicion of danger, doubtless frequented Hunt's ship and innocently led his companions into the trap set for them. Some of these Indians were sold as slaves to Spanish masters, and others were seized by friars of the country, who hoped to make proselytes of them.

Of the adventures of Tisquantum in Spain we know nothing; but after the lapse of about four years, a Bristol ship at the port of Malaga, ready to sail for Newfoundland, laden probably with wine which was to be exchanged for fish, received him on board, and in due time he was landed at Cuper's Cove, now Mosquito Cove, in Conception Bay, Newfoundland, where Captains John Mason and Thomas Dermer had temporarily seated themselves. Dermer, if not personally acquainted with Tisquantum, must have known of him through Captain Smith, whom Dermer had accompanied in the unsuccessful voyage of 1615; and he applied himself to learn from Tisquantum what he could respecting New England.

We have elsewhere related how Dermer informed Gorges of Tisquantum's arrival at Newfoundland; of Dermer's visit to England with Tisquantum, and of his return with his Indian friend to New England; and how, after serving Dermer as interpreter and guide, Tis-

quantum was allowed, as on a former occasion he had been allowed by Smith, to revisit his people at Cape Cod. Doubtless it was arranged between them that Tisquantum should rejoin Dermer the next season; but be this as it may, Dermer's death put an end to all plans, and Tisquantum remained with his people.

By a strange Providence, the Pilgrims, on their way to the vicinity of the Hudson River, landed near the native home of Tisquantum, and were heartily welcomed by this identical Indian, whose mind had been enlarged beyond that of his fellows by contact with European civilization, and a knowledge of the great world which lay outside the narrow tribal limits of his people.

During the short time he had been with his tribe, Tisquantum had seen his rude kindred melt away before a terrible disease supposed by some writers to have been the small-pox; which, perhaps, made him all the more ready to welcome joyfully men who had come from his old, if temporary and alien, home over the sea. He not only welcomed the emigrants, but devoted himself to their welfare; bearing messages between them and the savages who were disposed to be hostile to them, and aiding them in forming treaties with the native tribes in their vicinity. They, in turn, evidently conceived a strong affection for him; and when it was supposed that Corbitant had slain him for his friendship for the English, they at once organized an expedition to punish the supposed murderer.

Having recovered Tisquantum unharmed, they publicly proclaimed to the Indians that if Tisquantum suffered harm at any of their hands, swift and certain punishment should follow. Thus

before mentioned to Gorges, expressing a desire to join him in his colonial enterprises.

In consequence of this letter, Gorges despatched a vessel, early in the year 1619, to New England, under the command of Edward Rowcroft, who appears to have been unfit for such an enterprise, with instructions to await at Monhegan the arrival of Dermer, who had arranged with Gorges to meet Rowcroft there. Arriving upon the coast, Rowcroft found a little French barque fishing there, and thinking to benefit his patron, seized her for infringing upon the fishing-grounds belonging to the Plymouth Company, and putting the Frenchmen on board his own ship, sent her home

a strong friendship between this Indian and the Pilgrims was established: a friendship marred but upon one occasion, when he endeavored to aggrandize himself in the estimation of the Indians, by enlarging upon his influence with the English; but unfortunately, while conducting some of the Plymouth people on a trading expedition southward, in the autumn of 1622, he was stricken with a fever, accompanied with "bleeding much at ye nose (which ye Indians take for a symptome of death)." Finding that his end was coming, he requested Governor Bradford to pray for him, "that he might goe to ye Englishman's God in heaven;" and he then calmly divided his little treasures, bequeathing "sundry of his things to sundry of his English friends, as remembrances of his love."

His death put an end to the trading expedition; and the Pilgrims returned sorrowfully to Plymouth, feeling that in Tisquantum's death they had experienced a severe loss.

His death took place in November, 1622, at what is now Chatham. "Gov-

ernor Bradford's pen," says Judge Davis, "was worthily employed in the tender notice taken of the death of this child of nature. With some aberrations, his conduct was generally irreproachable, and his useful services to the infant settlement entitle him to grateful remembrance." *Vide A Briefe Narration*, etc., by Sir Ferdinando Gorges; *Collections of the Maine Historical Society*, Vol. II., pp. 17 *et postea*; *Rosier's True Relation*, edited by Henry S. Burrage, D.D., published by the Gorges Society, Portland, 1887, p. 161; *The Generall Historie of Virginia*, etc., by Captaine John Smith, Richmond, 1819, Vol. II. pp. 206; *Mourt's Relation*, edited by Henry Martyn Dexter, Boston, 1865, pp. 83, 90, 92, 97 *et passim*; *Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers*, by Alexander Young, Boston, 1844, pp. 190, 194, 195, 289, 301 *et passim*; *History of Plymouth Plantation*, by William Bradford, Boston, 1856, pp. 93, 95, 103, 128 *et passim*; *A Chronological History of New England*, by Thomas Prince, A.M., Boston, 1826, pp. 132, 151; *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, Vol. IV. p. 1830.

home to Gorges to be used in some other adventure, while he took command of the barque, intending to remain in New England until the next year, engaged in fishing and trade. Shortly after, however, his men conspired to kill him and seize the barque; but he discovered the conspiracy, and just as they were upon the eve of putting their plan into execution, he surprised and made them prisoners. Not being willing to execute the malefactors, he put them on shore at the mouth of the Saco, with provisions and arms with which to sustain and defend themselves; but finding that he had not men enough left to handle the barque, which drew, as he also found, too much water to be used in coasting, — for it would seem that he had instructions from Gorges to spend some time in exploring the coast, — he set sail for Virginia without waiting for Dermer, who was to aid him in his explorations, hoping to get aid there to carry out his patron's plan. Here, having refitted and being upon the point of sailing, he was delayed by the arrival of the new governor, and while he and his officers were engaged in festivities on board the governor's ship, a storm arose by which the barque, not having men enough on board to take care of her, was driven on shore and sunk. The next day, however, by the labors of the governor and Rowcroft, she was raised; but Rowcroft was obliged to remain in Virginia to refit her, and while this was being done, he was slain in a quarrel. Being left without proper care, the barque was again sunk in a storm and this time wholly lost.

But to return to Dermer. After writing Gorges that he would meet Rowcroft, he was advised by Mason, who was warmly interested in colonization, to proceed to England

land and confer personally with Gorges; hence he took passage for England, where he arrived shortly after Rowcroft had failed. A ship of two hundred tons, however, was then being made ready by Gorges and others at Plymouth for a voyage to New England to fish and trade, and in her, Dermer, after conferring with Gorges, upon whom he made an excellent impression, took passage and reached Monhegan early in May, but, much to his disappointment, did not find Rowcroft at the appointed place of meeting. Taking a pinnace and several men, together with Tisquantum, who had accompanied him, he set out to explore the coast, at the same time hoping to meet with Rowcroft. As he sailed along, he found many of the Indian towns deserted, and in some of them the Indians who had survived, being still affected with the dread disease already mentioned, showed him the unhealed sores which they bore. He skirted the coast to Cape Cod, redeeming two Frenchmen who had been wrecked near the cape three years before, and who during that period had been transported from tribe to tribe to furnish sport for the savages. These he added to his company; but finding his time rapidly passing, he returned to Monhegan, which he reached on the 23d of June, and found the ship which brought him from Plymouth already freighted and about to depart.

The *Sampson*, a vessel from Virginia, commanded by Captain Ward, was in the vicinity, and in her he put his surplus provisions and other property to be carried to Jamestown, to which place he determined to sail in the pinnace, exploring the coast as he went. Sending to Gorges by the returning ship a full account of his proceedings, together
with

with samples of the soil which he had gathered at various places, and of "other commodities," Dermer, for the accomplishment of his business, set sail on his voyage of exploration southward. Tisquantum desiring to go on a visit to his people, Dermer generously allowed him to depart, which caused him some trouble, for without a native interpreter he was not well received by the natives whom he met along the way. He had sailed but about forty leagues when he was overtaken by a storm and nearly wrecked, but fortunately escaped, with the loss, however, of a large portion of his much needed provisions.

On his arrival at the southern part of Cape Cod, Dermer was surprised and taken prisoner by the Indians, who demanded a ransom in hatchets, which he paid without regaining his liberty; but he luckily escaped from them, at the same time making prisoners of the principal chief and three men, whom he released upon the return to him of the hatchets he had paid for his own ransom, and the gift of a canoe full of corn, of which he was in great need. At Martha's Vineyard he came upon Epenow, the cunning savage whom Gorges had picked up in London several years before and sent to New England with Captain Hobson, but who escaped, as already related, by jumping overboard soon after arriving upon the coast. As Epenow could speak "indifferent good English," Dermer was enabled to converse with him with "very good satisfaction." After many perilous adventures, Dermer reached Jamestown, having sailed through Long Island Sound and penetrated the harbor of New York, and from thence by the Narrows and Sandy Hook, which won for him, among
Englishmen,

Englishmen, the credit of having discovered Long Island, or rather that it was not a part of the mainland. Arrived in Virginia, where he hoped to find some of Rowcroft's men and property belonging to Gorges, Dermer, with zeal and energy, set about building a deck for his pinnace, and refitting her for an immediate return to New England; but he was taken seriously ill and obliged to defer the undertaking until another spring.

The winter having passed, Dermer set out on his return to Monhegan, which he reached in safety, and after spending the summer in explorations, a particular account of which he sent home to Gorges, he again turned the prow of his little pinnace toward Virginia. But at Martha's Vineyard, stopping to visit Epenow, that treacherous savage suddenly fell upon him, and in the encounter which ensued, all of his men but one were killed, and he himself was seriously wounded. He escaped, however, and reached Virginia, but shortly after his arrival died.¹⁴⁷ So ended the last enterprise of Gorges under the charter of the Plymouth Company. We have thought best to give a particular account of this undertaking, as Gorges evidently had great hopes of making Dermer instrumental in preparing the way for a permanent colony, and as a just tribute to the energy and perseverance of Dermer, who seems to have been of the stuff from which heroic navigators are made.

On August 26th, 1620, Sir Ferdinando Gorges was called to

¹⁴⁷ *Vide History of Plymouth Plantation*, by William Bradford, Boston, 1856. pp. 95-99; *The Generall Historie of Virginia*, etc., by Captaine John

Smith, Richmond, 1819, Vol. II. pp. 206, 219; *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, Vol. IV. pp. 1778 *et seq.*, 1830 *et seq.*

to mourn the death of his wife Ann, the daughter of Edward Bell, Esq., of Writtle, Essexshire. Their marriage had been celebrated at the historic church of St. Margaret's, Westminster, on February 24th, 1589; hence they had been united for upwards of thirty-one years. They had had four children, namely: John, Robert, Ellen, and Honoria; the last-named of whom died young. Of his domestic life, unfortunately, all knowledge is wanting, as nothing in the nature of family correspondence or biography has come down to us; hence we are obliged to confine ourselves almost wholly to events of a public nature in his life.

The year 1620 is memorable in American annals. In England the King had let his shallop drift into troubled waters, and was almost beside himself with perplexity. His son-in-law, Frederic, had accepted from the hands of insurgents the crown of Bohemia, which he found it impossible to retain in his grasp without aid from his royal father-in-law, though he claimed that he had received it from Divine Power, and that to have refused it would have been an act of insubordination which he had not dared to consider. In spite of this position, so much in sympathy with the views of the English monarch, and although James had pointed out to him in the Book of Revelation the exact prophecy of the event, he was not inclined to risk a war in support of the prophecy. It is true that he talked bravely to those who espoused the cause of his son-in-law, and promised them sufficient support; but not sincerely, for to those opposed he shook his head, and gave them to understand that he should not interfere in Frederic's behalf; yet he sent an army of four thousand men under the Earls of Essex and Oxford

ford as a police force to protect Frederic's property.¹⁴⁸ He had harried out of the realm many of his best subjects, both Roman Catholic and Puritan, and was daily growing more narrow and bitter against all who dissented from his rigid views. Even the old kirk of his native Scotland had not escaped disagreeable attention from him. The result of the troublous condition of affairs in England was that the minds of many were prepared to regard favorably a home across the water.

A considerable body of Puritans who had fled from his persecution into Holland, had, as was before said, made application to be allowed to settle in Virginia, and having obtained a patent of territory near the mouth of the Hudson from the London Company, they set sail from Delft Haven on the 22d of July; or, in the quaint and simple words of one of their number, "they lefte y^e goodly & pleasant citie, which had been ther resting place near 12. years; but they knew they were pilgrimes, & looked not much on those things, but lift up their eyes to y^e heavens, their dearest cuntrie, and quieted their spirits."¹⁴⁹ Of their troubles before getting clear of the English coast, and of their painful voyage across the Atlantic, much has been written, and this is not the proper place to repeat the interesting story; but it is proper for us to

¹⁴⁸ *Vide Letters and other Documents illustrating the Relations between England and Germany at the Commencement of the Thirty Years' War*, edited by Samuel Rawson Gardiner, London, 1865, pp. 6, 14, 34, 43, 52; *Ibid.*, second series, pp. 8, 14, 17, 22, 24, 28; *The Court of King James the First*, by Dr. Godfrey Goodman, Lon-

don, 1829, Vol. II. pp. 238, 240, 242; *Cabala, sive Scrinia Sacra*, London, 1654, pp. 113, 114, 143, 144; *Belli Laureae Austriacae*, pp. 199, 211; *Lotichius*, pp. 72, 82-88, 93.

¹⁴⁹ *Vide History of Plymouth Plantation*, by William Bradford, Boston, 1856, p. 59.

to glance at them on that bleak November day, when they gathered in the cabin of the *Mayflower*, preparatory to landing on the forbidding shores of New England, to sign a compact, "that such an act by them done (this their condition considered) might be as firm as any patent, and in some respects more sure."¹⁸⁰ The compact itself may not be properly repeated here, as it is sufficient for us to observe that these men, in the face of hardships and perils which they clearly comprehended, framed for themselves a constitution altogether unique, in that it recognized the fundamental principle of a republic, the government of which was to rest upon the consent of the governed, foreshadowing the possibility of a nation founded upon a personal freedom subordinated only to the common weal. Theorists in the seclusion of their closets, had indeed wrought, of the stuff from which dreams are made, insubstantial fabrics of a similar form and character; but it remained for the clear heads and strong hearts of the Plymouth colonists to substantially realize the glowing vision. The warm desire of Sir Ferdinando Gorges to see a permanent colony founded within the domains of the Plymouth Company was to be realized in a manner of which he had never dreamed, and by a people with whom he but little sympathized, although we know that he favored their settlement within the territorial limits of the Plymouth Company. This corporation had hitherto been unsuccessful in utilizing its possessions, while the London Company had grown strong; which is but another term for

¹⁸⁰ *Vide History of Plymouth Plantation*, by William Bradford, Boston, 1856, pp. 89 *et seq.*

for aggressive. The latter, though jealous of its own rights, had found the trade and fisheries of the North important. It had twice procured an enlargement of its charter, and was jealously watching its weaker rival. That rival, at last following its successful example, ventured also to ask for an enlargement of its privileges, and on the 23d of July, 1620, obtained an order of the King in Council for a new patent in the following terms, namely:

“Whereas it is thought fit, that a Patent of Incorporation be granted to the Adventurers of the Northern Colonie of *Virginia*, to containe the like Liberties, Priveledges, Power, Authorities, Lands, and all other Things within their Limits (*viz.*) between the Degrees of 40 and 48, as were heretofore granted to the Company in *Virginia*, excepting onely, that whereas the said Company have a Freedom of Custome and Subsidie for 21 Yeares, and of Impositions for ever, this New Company is to be free of Custome and Subsidie for the like Term of Yeares, and of Impositions after soe long a Time as his Majesty shall please to grant unto them; this shall be therefore to will and require you to prepare a Patent for his Majesties Royall Signature to the Purpose aforefaid, leaving a Blank for the Time of Freedome from Imposition to be supplied, and put in by his Majesty, for which this shall be your Warrant.”¹⁸¹

Against all considerations of equity the London Company at once set about thwarting Gorges in his endeavors to obtain within the territorial limits assigned to the Plymouth Company

¹⁸¹ *Vide Historical Collections*, by Ebenezer Hazard, A.M., Philadelphia, 1792, Vol. I. p. 99.

Company similar privileges to those which it had asked for and obtained within the limits assigned it, and its agents at once beset the King and Privy Council to prevent the delivery to Gorges of the patent which had already been sealed, the patentees having changed the title of their Company to "The Council established at Plymouth for the planting, ruling, ordering, and governing New England in America." The Lords of the Council, however, properly regarded the objections of the London Company's agents as unwarrantable, and after patiently listening to their wholly one-sided arguments, refused to grant their demands. Having failed in their unfair efforts, they plainly told Gorges that he had not heard the last of them, and that they would bring their objections before the next session of Parliament, where they would outnumber him. His reply was characteristic of the man, and was to the effect that if justice was to be overthrown by numbers simply, he should not grieve to lose what was honestly his.¹⁶² As a specimen of the business morality of the time, of which it is a fair one, the proceedings of the London Company's agents are worth noticing. They had absolutely no ground, legal or moral, for their action. They claimed, and rightfully, to exercise exclusive privileges within their own territorial limits, and held these privileges originally under the same patent under which the Plymouth Company held its privileges; yet because they deemed that it would be profitable to them to share with the Plymouth Company the privileges which belonged to that Company within its own domain, they brazenly claimed the right to do so, and openly boasted

¹⁶² *Vide A Briefe Narration, etc.*, p. 34 *et postea*.

boasted of being able by the simple power of numbers to carry their point. It was a favorable time for this attempt, as the Parliament about to assemble was largely composed of men who were determined to reform some of the abuses which had grown up like mushrooms under the shadow of the throne, and had been fostered by favorites of the Crown greatly to the injury of the people. To bring before a body of men so constituted any new thing which had the favor of monopoly, which this patent in common with all others had, was likely to cause its condemnation, and the opponents of it in the London Company knew it; hence, when Parliament assembled, these men appeared before it with their objections. It was the old argument of Wrong which ever conceals its forbidding visage under the alluring mask of Virtue; the argument which the managers of the witch-show at Philippi brought against Paul and Silas, when they desired to obtain the influence of an over-credulous people against the men who stood in the way of their gain. The artful showmen, it will be remembered, did not plead their own cause, nor allude to their own private interests; but it was the cause of the people, whose welfare alone they had at heart and held sacred. So in the case of the London Company, and in every other similar case before and since, it was the welfare of the people which was advanced as the motive of action, under the popular phrase of "a grievance of the Commonwealth."

To any one who studies the patent to the Council for New England, there can be no doubt that, in point of fact, it was a monstrous monopoly. It embraced the entire territory between the fortieth and forty-eighth parallels of latitude,

tude, and extended from the Atlantic to the Pacific Oceans. Within this vast domain the Council had supreme rule; could "establiſh all Manner of Orders, Laws, Directions, Instructions, Forms, and Ceremonies of Government and Magistracy fitt and neceſſary for and concerning the Government of the ſaid Collony and Plantation not only within the Precincts of the ſaid Collony, but alſo upon the Seas in going and coming to and from the ſaid Collony." Beſides, commerce of every kind in New England was placed under the control of the patentees. No veſſel engaged in commerce could enter a port along the entire coaſt, or paſs into any river, or touch at any iſland within the bounds of its patent, without liability to ſeizure and conſiſcation and ſuch puniſhment of the captain and crew as the Council thought proper to inflict, "not contrary to the Laws and Statutes" of England; and we can imagine how theſe might be ſtretched in a remote colony where the ſufferer would have little chance of making his caſe known in Engliſh courts thouſands of miles away, and unfriendly to complainants not backed by influence. In ſpite of this it was monſtrous for the London Company, who poſſeſſed a ſimilar monopoly, to poſe in this caſe as friends of the people.

Sir Edward Coke, than whom no other had been more wont to ſerve the intereſts of royalty, unleſs perhaps we except his ſelfiſh rival Bacon, but who had now eſpouſed the cauſe of reform, was in the chair, and treated Gorges, when he appeared before him, with unuſual ſuavity, yet in ſpite of a moſt judicious reply which he made, denying the charge that the particular patent of the Council for New England was a monopoly and grievance to the public, "ſeeing at firſt it was undertaken

undertaken for the advancement of religion, the enlargement of the bounds of our nation, the increase of trade, and the employment of many thousands of all sorts of people," and although he was "humbly bold," in offering in behalf of himself and associates, without compensation for their cost and labor, to surrender their patent to Parliament for the benefit of the whole realm, providing it would only prosecute the work of colonization which had been commenced, in which work he and his co-laborers would aid to the extent of their ability, as "their humble servants," Gorges made but little impression upon his hearers, and the new patent was placed in charge of a committee who were to deliver to him their objections in writing, and before whom he was given leave to appear with counsel upon a set time, to make his reply. Hearing nothing from the Committee, and the time arriving, Sir Ferdinando wisely appeared before the House alone, stating that he had not received the Committee's objections as promised. In reply, he was quietly informed by Coke that he "had gained great favor of the House to receive the particulars in writing," which enabled him to plead his cause, although, in fact, he had received nothing. To the overbearing Coke, Gorges with great tact and good nature replied, acknowledging the greatness of the favors shown him, and awaiting further commands.

Another day was assigned him for his appearance, and the objections of the House were finally placed in his hands. This enabled him to prepare his defence; and at the proper time he appeared with his counsel before the House to answer its objections. But, says Gorges, and it is significant of that truckling to authority which was the spirit of the time,
"in

"in great causes before great states, where the Court seems to be a party, counsel oftentimes is shy of wading farther than with their safety they may return ;" hence one of his counsel confined himself to the "matter of justice," and the other to the "matter of law," when the House demanded what he had to say for himself. Sensible, he says, how far his counsel came short of his intentions, Sir Ferdinando replied in a respectful yet vigorous manner, setting forth the advantages of colonization to the kingdom ; the certainty of the occupation of the territory by the French, Spanish, and Dutch, if the work of the patentees was abandoned, which far outweighed a slight inconvenience to a few disorderly fishermen who abused and corrupted the natives, and made them dangerous enemies of the English. Being confident in his own mind that he had sufficiently satisfied a majority of the House, but hearing that his opponents were to appeal to the King, he very politicly managed to get before that functionary the objections of his opponents, together with his defence.

This was a judicious step ; for to the surprise of Gorges, when the House presented the public grievances, the first on the list was the New England Patent, accompanied with the declaration that the House had listened to him and his learned counsel for several days, and that they could not defend it. We must admit the justice of the decision ; yet it was a severe blow to Gorges, and as soon as it got abroad, caused adventurers whom he had interested in colonization to abandon him, as well as some of his associates. But fortunately for Gorges this reform Parliament had brought upon it the anger of the King and Court for having condemned

demned several grievances to the Commonwealth, as well as having declared the liberties and jurisdictions of Parliament to be the undoubted birthright of English subjects; and James not only suddenly dissolved it, but cast the popular leaders into prison. Gorges, as we have seen, had already brought his case before the King, and having the royal favor was for the present allowed to enjoy his charter rights undisturbed.

During this time the poor colonists on the sterile shores of New Plymouth, as they called the place where they had settled, were struggling with hunger, disease, and death, to establish themselves in their new home. The place where they had settled was outside the limits of the patent which they had obtained of the London Company, and within the domain of the Plymouth Company, or, as we shall henceforth term it, the Council for New England; and they took measures to obtain of the Council a patent of a considerable tract of land including the place of their settlement. In this they succeeded, and on June 1st, 1621, the Council for New England issued its first patent to "John Pierce and his associates," in trust for their benefit.¹⁵⁸

Sir Ferdinando Gorges' name appears upon this patent, and he tells us that previous to the controversy between him and the London Company, the latter were in a condition to listen "to any propositions that might give ease and furtherance" to their undertaking, and hence had listened to his advice "to draw into those enterprises some of those families
that

¹⁵⁸ *Vide* Massachusetts Historical Collections, Fourth Series, Vol. II. The original document is at Plymouth, Massachusetts.

that had retired themselves into Holland for scruple of conscience, giving them such freedom and liberty as might stand with their likings." It therefore must have been grateful news to him to learn that they had made a "descent" upon territory belonging to the Council for New England, and we can imagine with what alacrity he hastened to give to Pierce a patent in their behalf. Their former patent had been taken in the name of Mr. John Wincob, of the family of the Countess of Lincoln, whose daughter was the wife of John Gorges, the eldest son of Sir Ferdinando; and it was doubtless the enthusiasm of Sir Ferdinando which inspired the Countess to take that lively interest in American colonization which she so conspicuously displayed.

At this time the British King was meditating a marriage between his son Charles and the daughter of the Spanish King. The religious fervor, hitherto conspicuous, which caused him to banish Catholics from the realm, to confiscate their property, and to draw, hang, and quarter them upon the flimsiest pretexts, seemed suddenly to vanish like a will-o'-the-wisp, before the more ardent fervor of self-interest, which he believed would be subserved by a family alliance with the powerful and wealthy Spanish King, whose intolerance and cruelty, though exhibited against Protestants, were as conspicuous as his own.¹⁶⁴ This projected alliance was unpopular at home, and in French diplomacy was not relished; hence there was abroad an apprehension

¹⁶⁴ *Vide El Hecho de los Tratados del Matrimonio Pretendido por el Principe de Gales con la Serenissima Infanta de Espana Maria*, edited by Samuel Rawson Gardiner, London, 1869, pp. 105, 111, 134, 147, 247 *et passim*; *Cabala, sine Scrinio Sacra*, London, 1654, pp. 127, 137, 146.

apprehension of trouble with France. This is evidenced by a letter of Sir Ferdinando to Secretary Calvert, under date of November 11th, 1621. In this letter, which is a reply to one from the Lords of the Council, asking his opinion with regard to the affairs of France, he told Calvert that, with respect to his suspicions of approaching trouble with France, he had hitherto been reticent, having "grown fearful to aggravate anything in that kind, lest, being a man of war, it might be thought I was willing rather to put the world in combustion, than that there was reason to believe my suggestions." He then proceeded to inform the Secretary of extensive naval preparations of the French, which he considered dangerous to the safety of England.¹⁵⁵ The letter is interesting as showing the esteem in which his opinions were held by the Government, and the peculiar condition of affairs existing between England and its continental neighbors.

Sir Ferdinando at this time stood at the head of the Council for New England, so far as influence went; in fact, his hand shaped its affairs. In common with many gentlemen of the time, he was interested in navigation, and was now building with the Earl of Warwick, one of the Council for New England, a ship of a new fashion,¹⁵⁶ which it was believed from its model would have remarkable speed. Being troubled with regard to the constantly increasing encroachments

¹⁵⁵ *Vide* Domestic Correspondence, James I., Vol. CXXIII. No. 101, Public Records Office, *et postea*.

¹⁵⁶ "Request of Sir Ferdinando Gorges for the loan of certain stores for a ship he is building of a new fashion, such as the Company might make use of, and

that he hoped to find a way to outfall the Dutch." The East India Company granted this request, as appears by the record, and loaned him two thousand trenails. *Vide* Court Minutes of the East India Company, in the Office of the East India Company, London.

encroachments of the French, Gorges was doubly anxious to establish strong colonies along the shores of New England; and the return from Newfoundland of Captain John Mason¹⁵⁷ brought him a valuable coadjutor. He was too, though against his will, aided by another event.

Captain Mason, on his arrival in England, was naturally the subject of attention from persons desirous to profit by his experience. Among these was Sir William Alexander,¹⁵⁸ who invited him to his house, and informed himself respecting the new country with which Mason was familiar. Mason, as we know, was particularly in love with the territory covered by charter to the Council for New England, and he so expressed himself to Alexander; advising him to obtain a patent of territory above the Council's northern boundary, and to apply to Gorges for such a portion of territory south of that boundary as he could conveniently grant.

Alexander was a fellow-countryman of the King and in favor with him; hence, disregarding Mason's advice, he avoided Gorges and sought the royal ear. The result was that James sent Gorges a "gracious message," which Gorges dared not refuse, to convey to Alexander a considerable slice of the Council's property, which was accordingly done, and the King thereupon confirmed the grant by including the land conveyed by it in a charter to Alexander of an immense tract of territory north of New England, which was named Nova Scotia. Alexander was thus placed where he would

¹⁵⁷ For an excellent account of this enterprising man, *vide* *Captain John Mason*, edited by John Ward Dean, A.M., published by the Prince Society, Boston, 1887.

¹⁵⁸ *Vide* *Sir William Alexander and American Colonization*, by the Rev. Edmund F. Slafter, A.M., published by the Prince Society, Boston, 1873.

would meet the brunt of French encroachments on the northern boundary of New England, and Gorges must have realized that every colony which the noble Scotchman planted in his new possessions would serve as a protection to the property of the Council, in which he was so deeply interested. In John Mason he had found a promising helper, a man of sound judgment and full of energy; and the influence which Gorges held in the Council was exerted in his friend's behalf. The result was a grant from the Council of the territory lying between the Naumkeag and Merrimac rivers, from their sources to the sea, with the islands adjacent within the distance of three miles. This tract was named by Mason "Mariana."¹⁵⁹

Sir Ferdinando had now reached the height of his influence, and the prospect of achieving all that he had anticipated with respect to colonization must have seemed bright to him.

A new spirit had been suddenly infused into the hitherto languid body of the Council for New England, and patentees were notified that they must pay for their shares forthwith or forfeit their interests.¹⁶⁰ The King was petitioned to issue his proclamation against interlopers; notably against Thomas Weston, a prominent London merchant, whose relations with the Pilgrims are so well known, and who was engaged in fishing and trade on the New England coast, as well as against

¹⁵⁹ No reason has heretofore been assigned why Mason gave the name Mariana to his possessions between the Naumkeag and Merrimac; but it seems evident that this name was bestowed upon it in honor of the Spanish princess

Maria, whose proposed marriage with Prince Charles was then the principal topic of discussion.

¹⁶⁰ *Vide Records of the Council for New England*, edited by Charles Deane, LL.D., Cambridge, 1867, p. 12.

against those engaged in sending vessels thither from the West of England.¹⁶¹ Schemes were numerous for peopling the New World, and among other proposals the Council considered one to send poor children of fourteen years of age and upwards as apprentices to the proposed plantations.¹⁶² Thus the prospect of increasing growth in population and trade in New England was encouraging.

To add to this, Sir Ferdinando had the favor of the King, who was active in rendering him the necessary aid in protecting his New England interests. He was made one of a commission for establishing order among the Newfoundland fishermen, and was furnished by the Privy Council with orders to be imparted to the captains of the fishing fleet.¹⁶³ This we can see was in the line of his own interests. At the same time his complaints of Dutch encroachments were readily listened to, and the States-General were given notice to abandon their plantation on the Hudson and to stop the ships which were being sent thither for trade by the Dutch West India Company.¹⁶⁴ Nor were interlopers from home overlooked; and a proclamation was issued by the King, forbidding any one to trade on the New England coast without a license from the Council for New England, and this in spite of the adverse proceedings of Parliament¹⁶⁵ and the fact that the Lord Treasurer had promised the Mayor
and

¹⁶¹ *Vide Records of the Council for New England*, edited by Charles Deane, LL.D., Cambridge, 1867, pp. 11 *et seq.*

¹⁶² *Vide Ibid.*, pp. 12 *et seq.*

¹⁶³ *Vide* Letter of October 27th, 1621, to Sir Ferdinando Gorges and others from the Privy Council, Domestic Correspondence, James I., Public Records Office.

¹⁶⁴ *Vide* Instructions of the Privy Council to Sir Dudley Carleton of December 15th, 1621, in Domestic Correspondence, James I., Public Records Office. This was referred to Sir Ferdinando Gorges.

¹⁶⁵ From the Parliament Journals:

"Martis, 20^o Novembris, 1621.

"Mr.

and influential men of Plymouth that they should not be interrupted in their fishing in New England by Gorges, a promise

"Mr. *Glamyle* moveth, to speed the Bill of Fishing upon [the] Coasts of *America*; the rather because Sir *Fer. Gorges* hath executed a Patent sithence the Recess, — Hath by Letters from the Lords of the Council, stayed the Ships ready to go forth.

"Mr. *Neale*, accordant; — That Sir *Ferd.* hath besides threatened to send out Ships, to beat them off from their free Fishing; and restraineth the Ships, *ut supra*, — Moveth the House to take Consideration hereof.

"Sir *W. Heale*: — That this [is] true; but my Lord Treasurer hath given Order that the Ships shall go forth presently, without stay.

"Sir *Edw. Coke*: — That the Patent may be brought in.

"Sir *Tho. Wentworth*: — That the Party may be sent for.

"Ordered, The Patent shall be brought in to the Committee for Grievances, upon *Friday* next: and Sir *Jo. Bowcer*, and Sir *Ferdinando* his son to be sent for, to be then there if he be in Town, Sir *Fer.* himself being Captain of *Portsmouth*, &c."

"18^o Decembris.

"Mr. *Glamyle* moveth concerning the Patent for Fishing — That the same Course may be taken, as for *Lepton's* Patent. . . . Resolved accordingly by Mr. Treasurer, Sir *Ferdinando Gorge* and Sir *Jo. Bowcer* the Patentees for Fishing in and about *New England* to be warned to appear here the first Day of the next Access, and to bring then their Patent or a Copy thereof.

"19^o Idem.

"Request of the House of Commons, that Mr. Treasurer will influence the King to suspend the Patent of Sir *Ferd. Gorges*, which restrains fishing on the Coasts of *New England*.

"Mercurii, 17^o Martii, 21^o Jacobi.

"Sir *Edw. Coke* reporteth from the Committee for Grievances — Have condemned One, viz. Sir *F. Gorge* his Patent for a Plantation in *New England*, — Their Counsel heard, the Exceptions being first delivered them — Resolved by Consent — The Charter dated 3^o Nov. 18^o Jac. — That the Clause in the Patent, that no Subject of *England* shall visit the Coast upon Pain of Forfeiture of the Ship and Goods; — The Patentees have yielded, the English Fishermen shall visit; and will not interrupt any Fisherman to fish there; For he no new Discoverer; Fishermen of this and other Nations, having fished there before his Patent. Drying of Nets, Salting of their Fish, &c. Incidents to their Fishing; Whereunto he also agreed, — After he was gone, after Debate, over-ruled, the Fishermen might take Timber for Repair of their Ships: 1. *Quere* incident; 2^o. Taken so before his Patent; 3^o. Fishermen never take any Timber with them; 4. Bring in great Store of Money for their Fish, — Resolved, *English* Fishermen shall have Fishing, with all Incidents of drying Fish, Nets, Timber &c.

"2^o. That the Clause of Forfeiture, being only by Patent, and not by Act of Parliament, void.

"Resolved upon Question, That the House thinketh fit, the Fishermen of *England* shall have fishing there, with all the Incidents necessary, of drying Nets, and salting, and packing.

"Upon the second Question, in the Opinion of this House, *una voce*, the Clause of Confiscation void, and against Law.

"Upon the third Question, in the Opinion of this House, the *Fishermen of England* may take necessary Wood and Timber for their Ships and Boats Use of Fishing there."

promise which they soon had occasion to press upon his notice.¹⁶⁶

On December 21st, 1621, Sir Ferdinando contracted a second marriage with Mary, the widow of Thomas Achims, Esq., of Pelint, Cornwall, and daughter of Thomas Fulford, Esq., of Devonshire.¹⁶⁷

As New England was so rapidly coming into notice, adventurers had no longer to be urged to undertake voyages thither. At least forty vessels went from England during the season of 1622 to fish and trade upon the New England coast.

We have seen that Mason had received a considerable grant of land between the Naumkeag and Merrimac. Sir Ferdinando now entered into a joint partnership with him, and on the 10th of August, 1622, procured from the Council a patent for territory lying between the Merrimac and Kennebec rivers, extending from the coast inland sixty miles, with the islands lying within five leagues of the premises. This the patentees named the Province of Maine.¹⁶⁸

Robert Gorges, the younger son of Sir Ferdinando, having in the meantime returned home from military service on the Continent, his father determined to send him to New England, in order to regulate affairs there, which were in a
disturbed

¹⁶⁶ *Vide* Letter of the Mayor of Plymouth *et als.* to the Lord Treasurer, February 12th, 1622, in Domestic Correspondence, James I., Public Records Office. In this letter reference is made to threats of Sir Ferdinando Gorges to prevent them from fishing on the Virginia, that is, New England, coasts, and requesting his Lordship to fulfil a promise he had made them, that they should not

be interfered with in prosecuting the business of fishing there.

¹⁶⁷ She is erroneously called the daughter, instead of relict, of Thomas Achims, Esq., by Colonel Vivian.

¹⁶⁸ The grant may be found in full in *Captain John Mason*, edited by John Ward Dean, A.M., published by the Prince Society, Boston, 1887, pp. 177-189.

disturbed condition owing to the lawless acts of fishermen and traders, who abused the natives and thereby incited them to revenge. Preparatory to this, he procured from the Council, on November 3d, 1622, a patent of that portion of New England called Massachusetts,¹⁶⁹ extending along the sea-coast ten miles "in a straight line towards the north east," and inland thirty miles, with all the islands which lay within three miles of the shores, excepting such as had been previously granted.

In addition to the grant of territory, Robert Gorges¹⁷⁰ was empowered to act as Governor and Lieutenant-General of the entire country, with a council composed of Captain Francis West,¹⁷¹ who, in addition to his commission as Councillor,

¹⁶⁹ These limits, of course, did not at all define any particular territory really called Massachusetts; that name being the title of a tribe of Indians and applied to that portion of the country inhabited by them, but quite indefinite. Cotton gives this definition of the word: "Massachusetts, a hill in the form of an arrow's head." Roger Williams tells us that he "had learnt that the Massachusetts was so called from the Blue Hills, a little island thereabout (in Narragansett Bay); and Canonius's father and ancestors living in those southern parts, transferred and brought their authority and name into those northern parts." *Vide Historical Collections*, by Ebenezer Hazard, A.M., Philadelphia, 1792, Vol. I. pp. 152-155; *Collections of the Rhode Island Historical Society*, Vol. IV. p. 208; *The History of the Colony of the Massachusetts Bay*, by Mr. Hutchinson, London, 1760, Vol. I. p. 460.

¹⁷⁰ But for his brief American career, an episode in his life which we have reason to believe was distasteful to him,

and which was unattended with honorable achievement, Robert Gorges would have been wholly unknown. All we know of him previous to his coming to America is condensed in the single statement of his father, that he had lately come out of the Venetian wars when he was sent here. When he left the shores of America, which he held in light esteem, he passed at once from view. Thus what he probably regarded as one of the least important events of his life, served to connect his name inseparably with our early history, and so to pass it down to posterity.

¹⁷¹ The Wests were at an early date warmly interested in American colonization. Captain Francis West was a brother of John West, afterward Governor of Virginia, and also of Thomas West, Lord Delaware. In 1609 he accompanied the expedition of Gates and Somers to Virginia, where for a time he acted as president of the colony. He continued to reside at Jamestown until 1622, in which year he signed a petition

cillor, was created Admiral of New England, with Captain Thomas Squibb as assistant; Christopher Levett;¹⁷² the Governor of New Plymouth, and such other persons as the Governor-General might think proper to nominate. Nor was the Church forgotten, and the Rev. William Morrell¹⁷³ was

as one of "ye ancient planters" of the colony. Returning to England, he was selected by Gorges to accompany his son and to assume an important position in the Government. The undertaking of Gorges proving a failure, Captain West returned to Virginia, and upon the death of Sir George Yeardley, then Governor, he was given the vacant governorship. He was living at Jamestown in 1631.

¹⁷² A brief account of Christopher Levett may be found in the *Trelawny Papers*, published by the Maine Historical Society in 1884, p. 102.

¹⁷³ The Rev. William Morrell does not seem to have exercised his calling in a single instance while in New England, but employed his leisure in composing a Latin poem, which shows the author to have been an accomplished classical scholar. A copy of this work is in the British Museum, and is entitled as follows:—

"NEW ENGLAND OR A
BRIEF ENNARRATION OF THE
AYRE, EARTH, WATER, FISH,
AND FOWLES of that COUNTRY,
with A DESCRIPTION of
THE NATURES, ORDERS, HABITS
and RELIGION of the NATIVES,
In Latine and English
Verse by
William Morrell,
Late Preacher with
the RIGHT WOR: CAP:
ROB: GORGE *late Governour*
of New England.
fas brevis si fas bene
LONDON IMPRINTED
BY J. D. 1625."

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The reader may obtain an idea of this curious and interesting production from the following extract descriptive of the Indian:—

"Whose hayre is cut with greeces,¹ yet a locke
Is left; the left side bound up in a knott:
Their males small labour but great pleasure know,
Who nimble and expertly draw the bow;
Train'd up to suffer cruell heat and cold,
Or what attempt so ere may make them bold;
Of body straight, tall, strong, mantled in skin
Of deare or bever, with the hayre-side in;
An other skin their right armes doth keepe warme,
To keepe them fit for use and free from harme;
A girdle set with formes of birds or beasts,
Begirts their waste, which gentle give them ease.
Each one doth modestly bind up his shame,
And deare-skin start-ups² reach up to the same;
A kind of pinser³ keeps their feet from cold,
Which after travels they put off, upfold,
Themselves they warme, their ungirt limbes they rest
In straw, and houses like to sties."

¹ *Greeces* are flairs; that is, their hair was cut in successive rows.

² Long-legged boots were called *start-ups*. In this case leggings are signified.

³ Various kinds of coverings for the feet were styled *pinfers*.

was commissioned to superintend its establishment throughout the country. Strict orders for regulating the trade of New England were issued by the Privy Council, which the Admiral was directed to have fixed upon the mainmast of every ship going to the New England coast; and particular instructions were given to the Governor for managing the trade with the natives, the sale to them of provisions and arms being positively interdicted. Thus everything at last seemed well ordered and arranged to make the immediate colonization of New England successful.

Early in the spring of 1623, Captain West set sail in a new ship which had just been finished for the Council, and arrived upon the coast in June. He was followed by Robert Gorges and Christopher Levett. Gorges arrived in Massachusetts Bay in September; and somewhat later Levett reached Piscataqua, where David Thompson¹⁷⁴ had recently planted a colony. Here Levett found Gorges and West with two of the Colony of New Plymouth, who had been made Councillors, awaiting his arrival; and having been properly inducted into the office of Councillor, by taking his official oath, a meeting of the new Governor and Council was convened, and a government for New England for the first time organized. The organization of the government completed, Levett, who was anxious to settle a colony in his own behalf, having received a grant of six thousand acres of land to be

¹⁷⁴ David Thompson was a young man when he came to this country with his wife, whom he had but shortly before married. He removed to an island in Boston harbor in 1625, where he died in 1628, leaving a widow and son, who inherited the island where he dwelt, and which has continued to bear his name to this day. For brief particulars respecting him reference may be had to the *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society for 1876*, pp. 358-381; *Ibid. for 1878*, p. 204.

be located by him, proceeded to Casco Bay, where, having explored the coast for some distance, he selected certain islands in what is now Portland harbor, with the mainland opposite, for his proposed colony.¹⁷⁵

In England, Gorges was active in devising schemes to improve his possessions. A new charter was under consideration, which would give him and his associates powers still more extraordinary than they already possessed. To be able to bestow titles upon men who should prove themselves valuable in the colonies, would be popular and of immense power, by inducing ambitious men to enter into the work of colonization; hence this function was to be conferred upon the Council by the proposed charter. There was to be a public plantation at the mouth of the Sagadahoc, to which was devoted forty square miles of territory; and this was to be called the "State county." A city was to be erected in it and named by the King, and both the county and city were to be divided by lot among Sir Ferdinando and his associates; while a statute of Queen Elizabeth for binding poor children as apprentices was considered as likely to be beneficial if pressed into the service of the Council.¹⁷⁶

While these events were taking place, Sir Ferdinando was suddenly called to mourn the death of his second wife, to whom he had been united for but a brief period. Thus he was again left to endure the gloom of a broken home. To add to his troubles, the fishermen and traders, who had been disturbed

¹⁷⁵ *Vide A Voyage into New England*, by Christopher Levett, London, 1628. A reprint of this book may be found in the *Collections of the Maine Historical Society*, Vol. II.

¹⁷⁶ *Vide Records of the Council for New England*, edited by Charles Deane, LL.D., Boston, 1867, pp. 15, 36 et seq.

disturbed by the King's proclamation and the new government which Gorges had set up under his son in New England, complained loudly of the monopoly which he was attempting to exercise; and their complaints were echoed and re-echoed by the friends of the London Company and every incipient reformer about the doors of the Commons, so that the New England patent was again declared to be a public grievance. This again put a check upon his proceedings. Many who had put their money or were about to put it into the good work withdrew, and sold or gave up their shares. His son Robert, who does not appear to have conceived an ardent affection for New England, hearing of this discouraging situation of affairs, and meeting with unpleasant opposition to his government, abandoned his post and returned home; while West turned his attention to Virginia, where he subsequently became Governor.

Still, in spite of these discouragements, several enterprises had already begun to take root in the rugged soil of New England. The Pilgrims were firmly planted at New Plymouth, and Richard Vines¹⁷⁷ was seated at the mouth of the Saco; David Thompson was apparently well settled at the

¹⁷⁷ Richard Vines was a trusted friend of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, and visited New England as early as 1609. In 1616 he passed the winter with the Indians at the mouth of the Saco, and thus became acquainted with that locality, where he subsequently settled and became the founder of Biddeford. This name he doubtless bestowed upon his little settlement in honor of Biddeford in England, in which locality the Vines family resided. Richard Vines was a man of high character, but, being an Episcopalian, was antagonistic to the

Puritan rule, which was finally extended over the Province of Maine; hence, in 1645, he removed to Barbadoes, where he was engaged in the practice of medicine until his death in 1651. *Vide A Briefe Narration, postea; Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Fourth Series, Vol. VII. pp. 337 et seq.; George Cleeve and his Times*, by James Phinney Baxter, A.M., published by the Gorges Society, Portland, 1884, pp. 30 et seq.; *John Wheelwright*, by Charles H. Bell, A.M., published by the Prince Society, Boston, 1876, p. 126.

the mouth of the Piscataqua, and Edward and William Hilton¹⁷⁸ with a small colony were laying the foundations of Dover, while at several other points on the coast stragglers had erected their rude habitations.

In England there was a feeling of uneasiness respecting another Spanish war. James, as before stated, had set his heart upon a union between his son Charles and the daughter of Philip III.; and Charles, accompanied by the dissolute Buckingham, had seen and wooed the princess Maria, but, returning through France *incognito*, had stopped in Paris, and at a ball there had seen the French princess Henrietta. Buckingham had by his insolence and dissolute carriage made himself obnoxious at the Spanish Court, and, becoming aware of his unpopularity, determined to prevent the projected marriage, if possible; hence he succeeded in creating in the mind of Charles a distaste to it; and although affairs had proceeded so far that preparations for the wedding were nearly completed, they were, at the last moment, suddenly terminated

¹⁷⁸ Edward and William Hilton, brothers and fishmongers of London, came to New England under the patronage of Sir Ferdinando Gorges and his associate, John Mason, and were pioneers in the settlement of Northam, then called by the Indians Winachahanat, and now Dover. The Hiltons were enterprising men, Edward especially being spoken of as a gentleman of good judgment. He was a personal friend and correspondent of Governor Winthrop, and was held in such high esteem by the Massachusetts authorities, that when they assumed jurisdiction of New Hampshire in 1641 they made the former fishmonger a magistrate. From Dover he removed to Exeter, where he died in

1671. William was in the country as early as 1621, in which year he is mentioned as being at Plymouth; but joined his brother in 1623 at Northam. From here he removed to Newbury and subsequently to Charlestown, where he died in 1675. *Vide Historical Collections of New Hampshire*, Vol. I. p. 241; *Ibid.*, Vol. II. p. 54; *The History of New Hampshire*, by Jeremy Belknap, A.M., Philadelphia, 1784, Vol. I. pp. 8 *et seq.*; *Chronicles of the First Planters of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay*, by Alexander Young, Boston, 1846, p. 315; *A Chronological History of New England*, by Thomas Prince, A.M., Boston, 1826, p. 215.

terminated by the arts of Buckingham, and the mind of Charles was turned towards the French princefs. The result was a threatened war with the King of Spain, whose sister had been so cruelly insulted and abused.¹⁷⁹

It is necessary to call attention briefly to this, in order to explain the next letter which we have of Sir Ferdinando directed to Buckingham. It was written on the 8th of February, 1623, and is upon the old theme, the Spaniard, the *bête noire* of Sir Ferdinando's life. He had gone up to London to see Buckingham; but realizing how difficult it would be for him, in the crowded condition of affairs then prevailing, to get a personal interview with the King's favorite, he addressed him by letter. He had received information of a great gathering in Spain "of all forts of ships, and a great and extraordinary preparation for a naval attempt, wherein is to be embarked extraordinary numbers of land forces, with munition, ordnance, arms, and other provisions fit for a royal invasion." Sir Ferdinando particularly pointed out to the favorite the weak spots in England's situation: "the factions and parties, both in Ireland and England, who within these few years are grown to that head in every quarter, that they are not only become insolent and insufferable to particulars, but most dangerous to the public peace
of

¹⁷⁹ Vide *Cabala sine Scrinia Sacra*, London, 1654, pp. 151 *et seq.*; *The Court of King James the First*, by Dr. Godfrey Goodman, London, 1839, Vol. I. pp. 360, 385; *Secret History of the Court of James the First*, Edinburgh, 1811, Vol. I. pp. 453-459; *The Court and Times of James the First*, by Thomas Birch, D.D., London, 1849, Vol. II. pp. 391 *et seq.*, 400-402 *et passim*; *The Life and Reign of James the First*, by Arthur Willson, Esq., in *A Complete History of England*, London, 1706, pp. 773-780; *El Hecho de los Tratados del Matrimonio Pretendido por el Principe de Gales con la Serenissima Infante de Espana Maria*, edited by Samuel Rawson Gardiner, London, 1869.

of these realms." The danger was so pressing, he told Buckingham, that he should doubt his own loyalty if he did not offer it to his further consideration; and he addressed the corrupt and selfish courtier as one upon whose shoulders a great part of the burden of national success depended, and who would be obliged to give an account of that success as occasion might require. Pertinently calling Buckingham's attention to the fact that he did not enjoy the honor of his acquaintance, as he had enjoyed that of his predecessors, who had held the helm now in his hands, and who had thought his opinion not unworthy to be listened to, he said, and it sounds like a bit of sarcasm covertly aimed at the British Solomon, "We have no less reason than Solomon had in time of peace to prepare for war; but we are so far from Solomon's providence in this kind, as that our forts and defences are not only in ruin, but indeed without all means of defence. Nay, my good Lord," he continued, "I protest that they are in so base and unworthy a manner provided for, as for mine own part, I am not only ashamed of that in my charge, but grieved to the heart to think that I should live to see it so."¹⁸⁰

The tone of this letter shows Gorges to have been no admirer of Buckingham, and when carefully considered is an arraignment of that minister which he must have felt unpleasantly. Certainly, at a later period we find that Gorges was regarded by Buckingham as not to be relied upon to carry out his measures.

When

¹⁸⁰ *Vide* Letter of Sir Ferdinando Gorges to the Duke of Buckingham, Domestic Correspondence, James I., Public Records Office, Vol. CLIX. No. 22 *et postea*.

When Parliament assembled in 1624, the patent of the Council for New England was one which received its condemnation; but the only practical effect of this action was to discourage capitalists from embarking their money in colonial undertakings, and to encourage traders and fishermen to seek more eagerly the New England coast for their private gain. But war with Spain was now going on, and Gorges had but little time to devote to colonial schemes. The realm was threatened with invasion, and his duty to his country required him to devote his thoughts to its preservation from hurt by a revengeful foe.

He must have perceived the cloud which began to rise in France, threatening his New England possessions; for with the rupture of relations with Spain, and the beginning of negotiations for a family alliance between England and France, the French ambassador, the Comte de Tillières, artfully made his first move on the political chessboard towards winning New England for his monarch. He began by complaining of English hostility in Canada, and defined with an apparently generous frankness, as though his definitions were well known to be correct by the English and the world at large, the limits of the English possessions in the New World. They were grand, he magnanimously acknowledged, and they extended *from* Virginia to the Gulf of Mexico. New England, of course, belonged to France; and when the marriage of the French princess and the English prince was consummated, James should, and as a matter of course would, restore to his French brother what rightfully was his, but had been hitherto withheld. This was to prepare the people of England for considering the relinquishment

quishment of a large portion of their American colonial possessions.¹⁸¹ Buckingham, Charles, and James had already considered the question, and in their own minds decided to yield Acadia to the French, which meant to them Nova Scotia and an indefinite portion of New England, since nothing was to be allowed to interfere with the desired marriage.

This would be a deadly blow to the hopes of Sir Ferdinando Gorges and Sir William Alexander; but to the interesting triumvirate who controlled the destinies of the realm for the time, the loss of the whole of America was but the loss of a bauble when compared with their personal interests. Gorges, however, was not a man who would yield his rights without a defence; and he so clearly showed the importance to the kingdom of retaining its American possessions, that a relinquishment of any portion to France was postponed.

On the 27th of March, 1625, King James suddenly died, and his son Charles reigned in his stead. His marriage with Henrietta of France speedily followed, greatly to the dissatisfaction of the English people, though this dissatisfaction was softened in some measure by the reflection that the more hateful match with Spain had miscarried.

Buckingham virtually ruled, and his tools were installed in offices where they could best subserve his interests. Charles had been on the throne but a few weeks when the treaty made by his father with the French King to help forward his son's marriage with Henrietta was brought forward by the French minister, the Marquis d'Effiat, with
the

¹⁸¹ *Vide French Correspondence, James I., 1623, Public Records Office.*
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the demand that its terms should be complied with, and Charles was asked to furnish an English fleet to help his Catholic brother-in-law to destroy the Protestant power in France. An undertaking equally obnoxious to Englishmen could not have been proposed, and yet the pliant King allowed Buckingham, as Lord High Admiral, to furnish the ships required; and a man-of-war, the *Vanguard*, and seven merchant vessels, which were armed and manned with English mariners, were put into the service by Buckingham, in accordance with the treaty the terms of which were kept from public knowledge. Among the ships placed in this obnoxious service was the *Great Neptune*, belonging to Sir Ferdinando Gorges, and to the command of which he was assigned. To the captains of these ships and to the public it was given out that they were to be employed against the Genoese; and to relieve the English King from responsibility, the French ambassador was made a direct party to the charter with the owners of the merchantmen.

Gorges, evidently from the first, distrusted the ambassador; for on his arrival with the *Great Neptune* at Gravesend, he immediately addressed Secretary Conway, who was afterwards accused openly of being a tool of Buckingham, asking that a Commissioner should be appointed by the Privy Council to make an inventory of the ship's property, armament, stores, and general equipment, as the French ambassador seemed to have received false information respecting the matter, and had complained of the ship's defects and wants to the King.¹⁸³ This was a proper request, as, in the

¹⁸³ *Vide* Domestic Correspondence, Records Office. Among the correspondence of Sir Ferdinando Gorges Charles I., Vol. II. No. 86, Public
gathered

the absence of direct proof of the value of the ship and her appertainings before sailing, such complaints might, in case of loss, be made to serve as an excuse for not paying her value.

In due time the vessels put to sea and reached Dieppe. Here they found that they were not only to be under the direction of the French admiral, but that French officers and sailors were to be put on board in sufficient force to control the management of the ships, contrary to agreement. This in itself was sufficient to have caused a revolt among English mariners, who were proud of what they considered their superior maritime skill, and could ill brook even the presence of men whom they regarded as inferiors; but when added to this was a strange tongue and the practice before their eyes of a religious faith which at home would have subjected those practising it to severe pains and penalties, together with a rumor which found its way through the fleet that they were to be employed against their brother Protestants of Rochelle, we may faintly imagine the tumult which followed.

Against this obnoxious service the English mariners protested in writing, signing their names in a circle that they might bear equal blame; and this protest was privately placed in the prayer-book of their admiral, Thomas Pennington, the pliant tool of Buckingham, who upon finding it solemnly assured them that to him death on an English gallows for disobedience of orders was preferable to service against the French Protestants; but at the same time he urged

gathered by me in England are a number of letters upon this important subject, which will be found printed in full in this work.

urged the English captains to allow the Frenchmen to be placed on board their ships. This, Gorges and the other commanders would not consent to, seeing that the intention of the French was to overpower them, and they at once withdrew their ships from Dieppe for safety; while Pennington in despair hurried to London to lay the matter before his master. Sir Ferdinando Gorges, to justify the action of the commanders, himself drew up a memorial to Secretary Conway, setting forth that it was not contemplated in their charters that they should give up their ships and goods to the Frenchmen; and if they were to give them up, they should require sufficient security for their property, since they had already found by lively experience that any security which merchants could offer would be of but little avail in cases "between the seat of a sovereign majesty and that of simple subject," and that when the French had everything in their hands there would be little hope that they would receive justice when they became simple suitors for recompense, which was certainly true.

Sir Ferdinando further pointed out, what must have been patent to the dullest wit, that to put on board the English ships a large body of men speaking a language and practising a religion foreign to English mariners, thereby implying a distrust of them, would inevitably lead to grave troubles; and he advised that the English should retain the management of their own vessels, but, as usual in such cases, should be under the direction of the admiral in chief, whose commands should be obeyed in every particular, any failure of obedience to be followed by condign punishment. Finally, he begged to be made acquainted "in some sort" with the
enemy

enemy against whom they were to be employed; for up to this time the destination of the ships had not been officially divulged by his Government. A knowledge of their destination, Gorges informed Conway, was necessary in order that they might be properly provisioned and the requisite measures taken to preserve the health and comfort of the English engaged in the enterprise; an insignificant matter indeed with Charles and Buckingham. This was referred to the "grave and serious consideration" of the Secretary; a bit of farcasm, perhaps not intended as such, really humorous under less serious conditions.

The memorial bears the bold signature of Sir Ferdinando, and is followed by the names of three of the captains. A declaration was also drawn up and signed by Gorges and all the English captains, setting forth that they had, in obedience to the command of the King, entered the service of France, and demanding that their Government should require the French to deposit in England the value of their ships and goods, the agreement previously made having already been broken, and that, as the State regarded the ships of England as much a part of the public defence as the fortresses of the realm, and to deliver them into the power of a foreign Government would, in the eye of the law, be treasonable, they should have ample authority, under the broad seal of England, for giving them up, in order to protect themselves against possible punishment for an act of treason.¹⁸⁸ Basset Cole, a cousin of Sir Ferdinando,

¹⁸⁸ *Vide* Letter of Sir Ferdinando Gorges to Secretary Conway, Domestic Correspondence, Charles I., Vol. IV., No. 37; Declaration of Sir Ferdinando Gorges *et als.*, *Ibid.*, No. 107, Public Records Office, *et postea*.

nando, was given authority to act for him and the other captains in negotiating with the Marquis d'Effiat, and both he and Pennington laid their statements of the affair before the King. In reply, peremptory orders were returned to the refractory captains to proceed at once to Dieppe while negotiations were pending, which command they obeyed; but they respectfully declined to relinquish the control of their ships unless security for their property was furnished as demanded; and Gorges wrote the King, asking that he should be allowed to go in his own ship to the French admiral to negotiate for himself and the others for what he conceived "to be fit in honor and justice." At the same time he begged for means to prevent the starving of the King's service and his own ruin. He also addressed Buckingham, asking him to second his request, assuring him that if he could not adjust matters satisfactorily it would be for "want of power, not zeal."

In reply to this, Buckingham despatched his servile vassal, Nicholas, who took up his quarters on the *Vanguard*,¹⁸⁴ and exhibited an agreement drawn up at Rochester, signed by the ambassador D'Effiat, the Duc de Chevreuse, and Monsieur Villeaucleres, pledging themselves as security. The names of two of the captains had been affixed to this paper, as they afterwards declared, without their knowledge, in order to influence the others to accept it as mutually agreed

¹⁸⁴ *Vide* Letter of the Duke of Buckingham to his "Servant Nicholas on board the *Vanguard*," July 19th, 1625, Domestic Correspondence, Charles I., Public Records Office. In this letter Nicholas is told to endeavor "to conform to D'Effiat's will," and to give him "all contentment possible." Buckingham also instructs Nicholas that Sir Ferdinando Gorges is to advise with him. In spite, however, of all efforts to bend him to this disgraceful enterprise, Gorges persistently set his face against it.

agreed upon; and Nicholas with much ostentation demanded their answer in writing, whether they would accept this agreement and deliver their ships to the French King or not. To this they all replied over their signatures that such an agreement was insufficient security, and that they would only deliver their ships as commanded, upon delivery in London of such security "as may sort with the quality of merchants to deal in," and which could "not be protected by the prerogative or authority of the princes of any state whatsoever." This was dated the 28th of July, 1625, more than two months after the date of Sir Ferdinando's first letter from Gravesend.

Pennington, the admiral, urged them to deliver up their ships to the French, exhibiting to them a letter addressed to him by the King, directing him to employ forcible means if necessary to compel them to do so. He went so far as to threaten to sink them if they refused, and, to set them an example of loyalty to their King, surrendered in their presence the *Vanguard*, which he commanded, to the French admiral. But to his threats Gorges turned a deaf ear, and hoisting the anchor of the *Great Neptune* set sail to leave the harbor, followed by the others. Upon this, Pennington opened fire upon the departing ships, and compelled all to return except the *Great Neptune*, which Gorges successfully bore out of the harbor under the fire of his guns, and escaped safely to England, reaching Beachy Head the 5th of August, from whence he despatched letters to the Secretary and Buckingham, repeating the reasons before given for not delivering his property to the French, and craving pardon if he had acted indiscreetly or contrary to his duty.

duty.¹⁸⁶ Doubtless, punishment for this disobedience of royal commands would have speedily followed, had not the King been sufficiently occupied in attempting to guide his weak shallop through the troubled waters of statecraft; but as it was, Gorges had the sympathy of the English people to sustain his action, and no serious notice seems to have been taken of it.

Nearly three weeks later, we find him still on board the *Great Neptune* in Stokes Bay, with his men in mutiny, calling upon Conway to send him aid from the King's ships to get his vessel safely into harbor.¹⁸⁶ In order to go on the French expedition, he had relinquished his command at Plymouth; but his action in leaving Dieppe does not seem to have injured him even in the eyes of the Government, for he was at once restored to his old command by the express recommendation of Sir William Saint Leger,¹⁸⁷ and on February 5th we find him writing Conway for instructions respecting a ship belonging to the Dutch East India Company, which had just arrived in Plymouth harbor. Under the late King he had been ordered to stop any of those ships which

¹⁸⁶ *Vide* Letter of Sir Ferdinando Gorges to the King, Domestic Correspondence, Charles I., Vol. IV. No. 88; The same to Buckingham, *Ibid.*, No. 89; Edward Nicholas to Sir Ferdinando Gorges and the Masters of the Merchantmen, *Ibid.*, No. 138; Sir Ferdinando Gorges to Edward Nicholas, Vol. V. No. 3; The same to Secretary Conway, *Ibid.*, No. 18; The same to Buckingham, *Ibid.*, No. 19: Public Records Office, *et postea*.

¹⁸⁶ *Vide* Letter of Sir Ferdinando Gorges to Secretary Conway, Domestic

Correspondence, Charles I., Vol. V. No. 69, Public Records Office, *et postea*.

¹⁸⁷ This we know from a letter of Sir William Saint Leger to Secretary Conway, dated at Plymouth, September 8th, 1625, in Domestic Correspondence, Charles I., and preserved in the Public Records Office. Saint Leger suggests that the place of commander at Plymouth should be offered to Lord Essex; but that if the appointment of Essex should not be thought fit, it should be offered to Sir Ferdinando Gorges, whom he heartily commends.

which came within reach of his guns, and he desired to know if his warrant was still in force. From the minutes of the London East India Company it would appear that he was ordered anew to stay the ships of the rival Company; but not considering his orders official, he demanded explicit instructions, which was in accordance with his usual caution.¹⁸⁸ Certainly a conspicuous trait in the character of Gorges was discretion; a trait at all times valuable, but especially so under an erratic rule like that which obtained under Charles and Buckingham.

During this time the Council for New England was inactive; but the French still pursued their designs on the territory comprised within the Council's charter, as well as on that granted to Sir William Alexander, which caused much anxiety to the patentees. They, however, found ere-long that the concessions which the late King had agreed to make them were no longer of avail, owing largely to the exertions of Sir Ferdinando Gorges; in fact, all consideration of the subject was terminated by a proclamation of the King, declaring New England a part of his kingdom.¹⁸⁹

The French claims no longer pressing, the right of free fishing came to the front, and the Council was threatened with an annulment of its charter, when the King, as in a former instance, came to its relief and stopped further proceedings. The uncertain condition of affairs, however, largely

¹⁸⁸ *Vide* Report of Sir George Woffenholm to the Council of the London East India Company in the Court Minute Book of the Company, Vol. VII. pp. 342, 347, 355-358, in London East India Company's Office; Letter of Sir Ferdinando Gorges to Secretary Conway,

Domestic Correspondence, Charles I., Vol. XX. No. 31: Public Records Office, *et postea*.

¹⁸⁹ *Vide* Proclamation of the King, No. 10, of May 13th, 1625, in Public Records Office.

largely discouraged adventurers from England; which, after all, was a benefit to the New Plymouth colonists, who opened a considerable trade along the coast to the north of their settlement.

Although engaged in a war with Spain, and although a rupture of friendly relations with France was imminent, England was in no condition of defence, and the soldiers at Plymouth threatened to march to London and make an ocular demonstration of their need to the King.¹⁹⁰

While Gorges was busy with his charge at Plymouth, making preparations to receive an attack from the Spaniards, who were reported then off the coast, his associates in the French expedition having escaped from their hated servitude, brought their ships into port, and commissioned him to make their defence to the King, and he was so far recognized as their representative, that Secretary Conway gave him leave to visit London in that capacity.¹⁹¹ A letter written by him about this time to Secretary Coke shows the extremity to which the Government was reduced; how impossible it was to offer anything like resistance to an attack upon the coast towns, and the dissatisfaction of the people with their rulers, evidenced by the mutinous clamor of the soldiers, and murmuring of the country people.¹⁹² This discontent was becoming more manifest daily,

¹⁹⁰ *Vide* Letter of Captain William Moleworth, dated April 4th, 1626, to Sir Ferdinando Gorges, in Domestic Correspondence, Charles I., Public Records Office. Moleworth states that he is "credibly informed that the soldiers have determined to begin their journey on Easter Monday, if they be not

clothed before, and to march towards his Majesty to show their nakedness."

¹⁹¹ *Vide* Letter of Secretary Conway to Sir Ferdinando Gorges, dated May 25th, 1626, Domestic Correspondence, Charles I., Public Records Office.

¹⁹² *Vide* Letter of Sir Ferdinando Gorges to Secretary Coke, Domestic Correspondence,

daily, and was directing itself towards the King's favorite, who, all unconscious of his impending fate, was actively engaged in embroiling his country with France to gratify his personal spleen. This he succeeded in accomplishing; and England found herself with two wars upon her hands, and with a discontented people and an empty purse.

In spite of the troubles in England, the Colony of New Plymouth applied to the Council for a patent of territory on the Kennebec, in order to control the trade of that region; and to afford an asylum for persons who were under ban for nonconformity, a patent was taken out between the Charles and Merrimac rivers by Sir Henry Roswell and others in England, and John Endicott was sent over as their agent to take possession of their grant. Thus, while Gorges was busily organizing his troops for war and drawing up lengthy reports to Secretary Coke,¹⁹⁸ he was discussing new colonial enterprises and witnessing in an unexpected manner a sudden growth in the direction of his long-cherished desires. Even the King began to exhibit an interest in his American possessions; and he took the extraordinary step of issuing his proclamation

respondence, Charles I., Vol. XXVII. No. 55, Public Records Office, *et postea*; also Letter of Sir John Coke to Secretary Conway, of May 25th, 1626, in *Ibid.*, setting forth the reasons assigned by the captains of the English merchant ships why they abandoned the French enterprise against Rochelle. Among other reasons, the English captains declared that "their ships are their freeholds — that they are English free-born, and will not put themselves into French jurisdiction." Sir John Coke informs Secretary Conway that

Sir Ferdinando Gorges will attend upon this business.

¹⁹⁸ At this time he was engaged also in a controversy with the London East India Company, as appears by their Court Minute Book, Vol. IX. pp. 288–297. This controversy grew out of alleged damages to the buildings and dock belonging to the Company at Deptford, which had been let to Sir Ferdinando Gorges and the Earl of Warwick for building a ship, and had been left by their workmen, it was claimed, in a damaged condition.

proclamation for a contribution to be taken in the churches of York to enable Christopher Levett, who was one of the Councillors of Robert Gorges in 1623, to return to New England and establish himself in Casco Bay.¹⁸⁴

At his post in Plymouth, Sir Ferdinando Gorges was constantly harassed by reports of projected invasion brought by incoming merchantmen, who had run the gantlet of the enemy's ships, or received knowledge of preparations going on in France and Spain; and his couriers were kept continually on the road, bearing these reports to the Secretary or the Privy Council at London. But he was not only kept constantly in alarm of attacks, but was at all times unpleasantly aware of his inability to meet them by the poverty of his defences and the wretched condition of his soldiers, who had received no pay for three years or more, and were not only in extreme destitution,¹⁸⁵ but in a chronic condition of mutiny. Sometimes his appeals for help were spirited, and at others almost piteous. In a letter to the Privy Council on August 23d, 1627, he uses these words: "Therefore, good My Lords, I beseech you to leave me no longer destitute of means necessary for a place of this consequence, for without it there is no captain that is able to oppose an enemy, nor no place can be secured or defended." The situation of Sir Ferdinando was indeed desperate. He had exhausted his private means in alleviating the miseries of his soldiers; yet in spite of all that he and his benevolent friends

¹⁸⁴ *Vide Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, Vol. XX. pp. 339-341.

¹⁸⁵ *Vide* Petition of Sir Ferdinando

Gorges, of January 27th, 1627, to the Privy Council, in behalf of the garrison at Plymouth, in *Domestic Correspondence*, Charles I., Public Records Office.

friends could do, many of the foldiers at Plymouth actually died of want. In vain he appealed to the Government; it was bankrupt, and what was done for the defence of Plymouth had to be done by him and other patriotic subjects of the weak monarch, who cherished his prerogative as the Afric his fetich, though his foldiers died of starvation.

On December 6th, Sir Ferdinando contracted a third marriage, this time with a cousin, the Dame Elizabeth, daughter of Tristram Gorges, Esq., of St. Budeaux, Devonshire. The Dame Elizabeth had already been twice married: the last time to William Bligh, Esq., who died in the July previous to her marriage to Sir Ferdinando. Strange to relate, within a few weeks after his third marriage, Sir Ferdinando was again a widower.

The general dissatisfaction with the Government had become great, and was largely centred upon the King's favorite, who had by his indiscreet use of power drawn upon himself the enmity of all classes. While at the height of his unmerited prosperity, he was suddenly cut off by the knife of the assassin; which was probably fortunate for Gorges, who was not in favor with him, and against whom his tools were in active opposition.¹⁰⁶ Unfortunately, a hiatus occurs in the

¹⁰⁶ On June 17th, 1627, Sir James Bagg, the Mayor of Plymouth, wrote to Buckingham that "Gorges' ways" were "not straight to serve" him; and also to Nicholas, the corrupt follower of the Duke, that he, Bagg, was a "servant to none but his Grace of Buckingham," and he characterizes Sir Ferdinando as the "faithless Gorges." A month later Nicholas received a letter from Bagg, that, "had not disaffectionate Gorges applied himself to the intelligence from

the Duke," it would have come first to Nicholas. Gorges was evidently closely watched by his enemies; and a letter from Secretary Conway to Sir John Coke leads one to suspect that efforts were being made to compromise him with the King, and that his despatches were tampered with. Sir Ferdinando had an important despatch to send to the King; but when the packet was delivered by his messenger, it was found to contain but blank paper, which caused

the correspondence of Gorges at this time, and we can only get glimpses of him here and there through imperfect records.

In spite of the war with France and Spain, Roswell and others who had taken out a patent, as before mentioned, in order to strengthen it applied to the King for a royal charter, and having received it, organized themselves under the title of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay, of which we shall presently have more or less to say in connection with Gorges, whose extensive possessions were eventually swallowed by this vigorous corporation. Besides, although the war seemed to require every man and ship in the kingdom to protect its coast from attack, Sir David Kirke,¹⁹⁷ who shared the enthusiasm of Gorges and Mason respecting

caused the King to be very angry. The same news, however, which Sir Ferdinando attempted to send the King was sent by Bagge and received by the King at the time Sir Ferdinando's packet was delivered. The attacks upon him were kept up; and on August 3d, Bagge wrote to Secretary Coke "not to trust Sir Ferdinando Gorges farther than he sees him," while to Nicholas he wrote that Sir Ferdinando was "more and more the Lord of Warwick's and less his Grace's, and is not to be trusted." He also wrote to Secretary Conway that Gorges was derelict in performing his official duties. These persistent attacks would have borne their legitimate fruits and caused the ruin of Gorges, but for Buckingham's sudden taking off. *Vide* the Buckingham Papers in the Public Records Office, Correspondence of Bagge and others, Domestic, Charles I.

¹⁹⁷ David Kirke was the eldest son of Gervase Kirke, an English merchant, who, having married a French lady of

Dieppe, became a resident of that town and engaged in business there. David was born at Dieppe in 1596, and upon reaching manhood became a wine-merchant, a business in which he was extensively engaged until the beginning of the persecution of the Huguenots, when, being a Protestant, he was obliged to flee to England. Becoming interested in colonial schemes, and being hostile to the Roman Catholic Government of France which made him an exile from his native land, he undertook in 1627 an expedition against the French colonial settlements in Nova Scotia and Canada. He was furnished with three vessels by his father, who was a man of wealth, and was accompanied by his two brothers, who, like himself, burned to avenge their wrongs upon the French. Kirke's first attack was upon Tadoussac, which he burned, killing even the cattle in the pastures, so as to cut off the sustenance of the colonists. He then sent a summons to Champlain to surrender Quebec.



ASHTON PHILLIPS.

The home of Sir Ferdinando Gorges at the time of his death.

The object of Gorges and Mason was to establish a factory at the mouth of the Piscataqua, and to use that river in ignorance of its limited extent, as a highway for the transportation of goods into the Indian country about the great lakes. Fabulous stories had reached England of the vast wealth of this region in furs, and the prospect of a lucrative trade with the inhabitants of the lake country was attractive.

The new Plymouth colonists, who during the war had enjoyed a lucrative trade with the Indians along the coast of Maine, also hastened to secure from the Council a patent on the river Kennebeck, which was granted them on the 13th of January; and on the 12th of February, Richard Vines and John Oldham procured a patent of eight miles of territory on the southerly bank of the Saco, four miles in width, beginning at the sea, and Thomas Lewis and Richard Bonython a similar grant on the northerly bank of the same river.

Thus Gorges suddenly found his colonial interests acquiring remarkable activity. Preparations were speedily made by Gorges and Mason to avail themselves of the advantages offered by their new acquisitions; and Captain Walter Neale, who had been engaged in the late wars, was selected as Governor of Laconia. Early in April, 1630, Gorges had the satisfaction of seeing the barque *Warwick* sail from Plymouth harbor, with Neale and his company on board. The colonists reached their destination in June, and established themselves on the west bank of the Piscataqua, within the limits of the present town of Rye, in the state of New Hampshire. The Governor's house was of stone, and
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situated on a peninsula now known as Odiorne's Point. It had been built and occupied by David Thompson, and was the house where that early colonist entertained Robert Gorges and Christopher Levett in 1623, when they met to organize the first government of New England, and which probably served as the model of Levett's stone house, which he shortly after built at Casco Bay.

Applications to Gorges for grants now became numerous, and patents were issued to applicants without sufficient regard to definite bounds, which consequently led to litigation. One such grant was issued by the Earl of Warwick as President of the Council for New England, and by Sir Ferdinando Gorges as territorial proprietor, to a company of religious adventurers,²⁰⁸ of a tract of land forty miles square, extending

²⁰⁸ This sect has been denominated "Familists," on account of one of its leading tenets of love toward all men, and its founder has been much misunderstood. His name was David Joris, or, anglicized, George, and he was born at Delft in 1501. He was by trade a painter on glass, and at an early age joined the Reformers. Being cruelly scourged, imprisoned, and tortured by having his tongue bored for obstructing, it was alleged, one of the disgusting street pageants at that time indulged in by the Roman Church, he found shelter, upon regaining his liberty, with the persecuted Anabaptists. Being unwilling to join in their violent opposition against their cruel tormentors, he refused to be rebaptized, but lived for a number of years under his old Roman baptism. When thirty-three years of age, however, he received the Protestant baptism, but could find no acceptable home among the jarring sects. His efforts to unite some of these warring

bodies into a society governed by love to all its members and to the world at large having become successful, he became an influential leader of the body, and devoted much time in visiting the bedsides of the sick and dying, and comforting them in their last hours. That terrible engine of Roman cruelty, the Inquisition, was busy; and when thirty-seven years of age, he was forced to witness in his native town of Delft the public execution by decapitation of his venerable mother: a sight horrible enough to turn the brain of almost any son. In danger of his own life, he fled from his native land and sought protection in Germany, where he published a *Book of Wonders*: a work full of the fanciful opinions then current among theological speculators, but no more fanciful than those to be found in the writings of such men in all the then existing sects. Pursued by the emissaries of Rome, he wandered from country to country, and finally, under an

extending easterly from Cape Porpoise. To this territory Sir Ferdinando gave the name of Lygonia, in honor of his mother. Other grants followed, which may be enumerated, in order to show the interest in colonization which at this time began to flourish. Thus, grants were made to John Beauchamp of London and Thomas Leverett of Boston, England, of territory equivalent to thirty miles square between the rivers Penobscot and Muscongus, beginning at the sea; to Thomas Cammock of fifteen hundred acres upon the east side of the river of Black Point; to Richard Bradshaw of the same number of acres above the head of the Pjepscot river; to John Stratton, of two thousand acres at Cape Porpoise; to Walter Bagnall, an island known as Richmond's Island, off the shores of Cape Elizabeth, with fifteen hundred acres of the mainland adjacent; to Robert Trelawny

an assumed name, found a home in Bâle, where he passed the closing years of his life a benevolent and honored citizen of his adopted town and a member in good standing of the Reformed Church. Unfavorable opinions of the man and the sect founded by him have been diffused by prejudiced writers. As though a life of persecution were not enough, after his death his son-in-law, Nicholas Blefdyck, who had opposed Joris during his life, and was embittered by being excluded from participation in the little property which his father-in-law left behind, himself assumed the rôle of persecutor, and brought grievous charges in the Courts Ecclesiastical against the mild Reformer; and although these charges were met and answered by the family of Joris, Blefdyck succeeded in procuring his condemnation *post obitum*, and his body was exhumed and publicly burned by the hangman. Not satisfied with this, Blefdyck proceeded to em-

body his views of Joris in a history. Those who adopted the faith taught by Joris were the poor and uneducated, and they naturally decked his tenets in fantastical garb; but, after all, patterned after that prevalent in the ecclesiastical world. It was a colony of these poor followers of the persecuted and despised Joris who attempted to found a colony at the mouth of the Sagadahoc, but who, to use the graphic words of Winthrop, soon "vanished away." *Vide Historia Davidis Georgii*, by Nicholas Blefdyck; *Kirchengeschichte seit der Reformation*, by Schroeckh, Vol. V. p. 442; *Kirchen- und Ketzerhistorie*, by Godfrey Arnold, Vol. I. p. 750; *Ibid.*, Vol. II. p. 534; *Story of the Rise, Reign and Ruin of the Familists and Libertines that infested the Churches of New England*, London, 1692; *The History of New England*, by John Winthrop, Esq., Boston, 1853, Vol. I. p. 69.

Trelawny and Moses Goodyear, merchants of Plymouth, a tract of land between the grant to Cammock and Casco Bay, extending inland the same distance as Cammock's grant extended; to Ferdinando Gorges, Jr., the grandson of Sir Ferdinando, and others, twelve thousand acres on each side of the Agamenticus river, together with one hundred acres adjoining for every colonist transported thither; to Robert Aldworth and Giles Elbridge, merchants of Bristol, a like quantity of twelve thousand acres between the Muscongus and Damariscotta rivers, with one hundred acres additional for each colonist. All these grants followed each other in rapid succession.

Of the grant to Ferdinando Gorges, Jr., his grandfather gives us some particulars. The patent upon the east side of the Agamenticus was granted to Lieutenant-Colonel Norton, Ferdinando Gorges, Jr., and others, while that on the west side was granted to Ferdinando, Jr., alone. Sir Ferdinando tells us that Norton and his associates "hastened to take possession of their territories, carrying with them their families and other necessary provisions; and I sent over for my son, my nephew, Captain William Gorges, who had been my lieutenant in the fort of Plymouth, with some other craftsmen for the building of houses and erecting of saw-mills; and by other shipping from Bristol, some cattle, with other servants, by which the foundation of the Plantation was laid. And I was the more hopeful of the happy success thereof, for that I had not far from that place Richard Vines, a gentleman and servant of my own, who was settled there some years before." ²⁰⁴

²⁰⁴ *Vide A Briefe Narration, by Sir Ferdinando Gorges, et alios.*

Projects for colonization and discovery were now again active, and even the old belief in a northwest passage to India was revived, and two expeditions were sent into Hudson's Bay, one by the King's commission and another by Bristol merchants.²⁰⁶

But while these projects were in full activity, Charles, to favor his French brother-in-law, was negotiating a treaty by which all the places possessed by the English in New France, the limits of which were altogether elastic, were to be abandoned to the French; and this treaty was finally signed by the two monarchs, becoming the cause of much trouble to the English, whose ambassadors had been outwitted by the astute Richelieu.²⁰⁸

But not only were the French threatening the possessions of Sir Ferdinando: the Dutch were also crowding upon him, and we find both him and Mason laboring with the Government against these sturdy rivals. A vessel from the Dutch settlement on the Hudson, which was within the limits of the Council's patent, had early in the spring been obliged by stress of weather to take shelter in Plymouth harbor. Finding where she came from, the patentees caused her to be detained, and representations were made to the Privy Council with a view to causing her confiscation. At the same time

²⁰⁶ *Vide The North West Fox*, by Captain Luke Fox; *The Dangerous Voyage*, etc., by Captain Thomas James, London, 1633.

²⁰⁸ By this treaty King Charles agreed to restore to France all the places possessed by the English in New France, Acadia, and Canada, particularly Port-Royal (now Annapolis), Quebec, and Cape Breton, and to pay to France

82,700 livres for property found in Quebec, and also the value of the cargoes of several French ships taken by the English, and 60,600 livres for five French ships and their cargoes taken by the English. A Treaty of Commerce was also made the same day. *Vide Rymer's Fœdera*, Vol. XIX. p. 361.

time government aid was sought to protect the patentees against further encroachments of the Dutch, and to bring about the breaking up of their plantation. Sir Ferdinando had gone to Bristol with Lord Pawlet and other friends to attend a race, but was thrown from his horse and severely injured, so that he was unable, when the matter came up, to join Mason before the lords to procure the confiscation of the Dutch ship, and to second him in his efforts against the interlopers; being, as he says in a letter to Mason of April 6th, as though it were a matter of small consequence, unable to move without the help of his servants. Yet at this time he must have been sixty-five years of age. We may properly infer from this that he was a man of great physical vigor, and not of a corpulent habit. Their efforts, however, were unavailing; and the ship, after several months' detention, was finally released.²⁰⁷

In the meantime the Massachusetts and Plymouth colonists were thriving, and their plantations growing apace. Naturally they were not favorable to lordships, of which they had had sufficient experience in England, and were jealous of Gorges, while he was distrustful of them. The colonists, careful to preserve the public peace, had punished and excluded from their plantation three malcontents, Sir Christopher Gardiner,²⁰⁸ Thomas Morton,²⁰⁹ and Dixie Bull,²¹⁰ the latter having escaped the halter for piracy by flight;

²⁰⁷ *Vide* Colonial Papers, Charles I., Vol. VI. No. 44; *Ibid.*, No. 52, Public Records Office, *et postea*.

²⁰⁸ *Vide* *Sir Christopher Gardiner, Knight*, by Charles Francis Adams, Jr., Cambridge, 1883.

²⁰⁹ *Vide* *The New English Canaan*, edited by Charles Francis Adams, Jr. Prince Society Ed. Boston, 1883.

²¹⁰ *Vide* *The Trelawny Papers*, edited by James Phinney Baxter, A M., Portland, 1884, p. 23.

flight; and these, on their return to England, at once hastened to lay their grievances before Gorges, and it would seem succeeded in gaining his attention. The result was that a petition to the Privy Council was made on the 19th of December, to enquire into the methods by which the Colony of Massachusetts Bay had obtained its charter, as well as into the abuses which it had practised under it. The affidavits of Morton, Gardiner, and Ratcliff, the last of whom seems to have taken the place of Bull, served as a foundation for the attack upon the Massachusetts Colony, which was characterized as rebellious and seditious; and as no shaft at this time could be considered effectual without being anointed with religious virus, the colony was declared by these thoroughly irreligious affiants to be dangerous to the Church and the State.²¹¹ There can be no doubt that Sir Ferdinando Gorges identified himself with this attack, though he does not appear to have been active in it. He was a man of sound judgment, having a practical knowledge of civil affairs, and at this period had reached an age when experience teaches caution. He respected the judgments of his contemporaries, who showed themselves not unworthy; hence we find him always speaking in tones of respect of the Massachusetts rulers, whom he knew to be men of strong characters, who might be useful friends or dangerous opponents. Many turbulent spirits had crowded into the infant settlements, and their violent words and imprudent acts furnished malcontents, like Morton and Gardiner, with

²¹¹ *Vide* Colonial Papers, Charles I., *England*, edited by Charles Deane, Vol. VI. Nos. 68, 69, Public Records Office; *Records of the Council for New* England, LL.D., Cambridge, 1867, p. 65.

with efficient weapons of attack upon the whole colony. Gorges himself was accused, by those who posed for zealous churchmen, of "being the supporter and author of all that was distasteful in the colony," and hence was obliged, in order to disarm his critics, to set himself against those accused of turbulence in the colony; but he says, when speaking of the lawlessness of some of the colonists, that "doubtless had not the patience and wisdom of Mr. Winthrop, Mr. Humphreys, Mr. Dudley, and others their assistants, been the greater, much mischief would suddenly have overwhelmed them." The support which Sir Ferdinando gave to their enemies was of course distasteful to the Massachusetts rulers, and also to those of Plymouth, whose interests were similar. Sherley had written to Bradford from Bristol in 1629, that he was "persuaded Sir Ferdinando (how loving and friendly soever he seems to be) knows he can, nay purposeth to overthrow, at his pleasure, all the patents he grants."²¹² They had naturally distrusted him; and his unwise action in sustaining such men as Morton and Gardiner aroused in the Massachusetts Colony a spirit of antagonism against him which could never be laid. They saw in the course which he had adopted evidence of an ambition to become the arbiter of New England's destiny, and from that moment they were ever on the alert to baffle him.

The Earl of Warwick proved friendly to the colony, and
with

²¹² James Sherley was a merchant of London, and one of the English partners of the Pilgrims. His letters to Bradford indicate a spirit of piety and generosity rarely to be found among mercantile men striving for gain, and his sincerity has been brought into question; notably by a recent writer, who calls him "a canting shurper," and "Old Man of the Sea." *Vide Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, First Series, Vol. III. p. 71; The Pilgrim Republic, by John A. Goodwin, Boston, 1888, p. 256.*

with his aid and that of other friends, the proceedings against it came to naught. Warwick and Gorges had hitherto been warm friends; but a coolness seems to have sprung up between them about this time, the result perhaps of the former's espousal of the cause of the colony, which subsequently gave place to hostility.

So important was their deliverance from a fatal peril considered by the colonists, that a day of thanksgiving therefor was set apart by them, and their chief magistrate requested the Governor of the Plymouth Colony to have his people join them in its observance.²¹⁸

But a new danger threatened the colonists. William Laud, a man acknowledged on all hands to have been an over-zealous and intolerant man, became Primate of England. If Sir Ferdinando Gorges had not thus far appeared responsible for Morton's acts, we shall now find him becoming so, and fully identifying himself with a plan to bring the New England colonists under the rigid rule of king and bishop. Emigration, owing to the wretched condition of civil affairs in England, and especially to the spirit of persecution which the advent of Laud had revived, had received a new impetus, and with the opening of 1634 great numbers of people of all sorts and conditions began to pour into New England.

It is not, however, for a moment to be supposed that these people

²¹⁸ Under date of June 19th, 1633, Winthrop records: "A day of thanksgiving was kept in all the congregations, for our safe delivery from the plots of our enemies, and for the safe arrival of our friends," etc. *Vide The History of New England*, by John Winthrop, Esq., Boston, 1853. Vol. I. p. 124; *A Chronological History of New England*, by Thomas Prince, M.A., Boston, 1826, p. 432.

people were of the baser sort. Quite the contrary. A large portion consisted of the best of England's population; men of sturdy principle and disposed to be loyal to their government, but at the same time men who preferred to sacrifice their physical comfort rather than their spiritual freedom.²¹⁴ They had seen the manner in which Laud had confiscated the funds collected for the purchase of impropriations and the arbitrary banishment of the seoffees,²¹⁵ as well as other like arbitrary acts, and they were anxious to escape from a tyranny growing daily more oppressive. A number of vessels had taken in their passengers, and were ready to sail from the Thames, when a proclamation was issued forbidding any man to leave the kingdom who had not a certificate from his minister of his conformity to the orders and discipline of the Church of England;²¹⁶ and Cradock, who was the London representative

²¹⁴ On May 8th, John Ker wrote to Thomas Leviston, wishing to learn of the success of the plantations in New England, as there were many at Preston Pans, where the writer resided, who were drawn to cast in their lot with the New England colonists, "not ministers," the writer says, which gives us a hint of his own profession, "but young men of rare gifts, who cannot get any lawful entry, as also professors of good means, who labour to keep themselves pure and undefiled." *Vide Domestic Correspondence, Charles I., Vol. VIII., Public Records Office.*

²¹⁵ "Towards the close of the year 1632, Laud accomplished a purpose, which he had long conceived, for the more effectual suppression of the lecturers. In 1624 a plan had been set on foot for the purchase of such lay impropriations as might offer themselves, and applying the revenues to the sup-

port of ministers in destitute parts of the country. The scheme proved eminently successful. The wealthy among the Puritans espoused it eagerly; large funds were collected; and the purchased impropriations were vested in seoffees. On the plea that these appointments amounted to an evasion of the Royal Prerogative, Laud caused an action to be brought against the seoffees in the Exchequer, and the result was that the funds were confiscated, and the seoffees were sentenced to banishment." *Vide Davids' Annals of Evangelical Nonconformity, p. 173.*

²¹⁶ "King Charles issued a proclamation importing that, being informed that numbers of his subjects are every year transporting themselves and families with their estates to the English plantations in America, amongst whom there are many idle and refractory humours, whose only or principal end is

representative of the Massachusetts Company, was ordered to produce its charter, which he could not do, it being in the possession of Governor Winthrop, thanks to that statesman's wise foresight. This was a surprise to Laud and his coadjutors, as they had supposed that the charter was still in London; and being unable to lay their hands upon that important document, which was the main object in view, they finally allowed the vessels to depart upon compliance with certain conditions.

Sir Ferdinando and his friend Mason were deeply interested in these doings. The territory which had been conveyed by the Council for New England to Mason, and by him called Mariana, in 1621, and that conveyed by it to Sir Ferdinando's son, Robert Gorges, in 1622, had been included in a subsequent conveyance of the Council in 1627 to the Massachusetts Company, who had taken the precaution to strengthen its title by procuring from the King, in the year following, a royal charter of the territory. This led to a conflict of titles, in which the Massachusetts Company strongly asserted its rights, and it became greatly for the interests both of Gorges and Mason to have the Massachusetts Charter annulled.

To

is to live as much as they can without the reach of authority; the King thereby commands all officers of the several ports that they do not hereafter permit any persons being subsidy-men, *i. e.* payers of the usual subsidies, to embark themselves thither, without a license from the commissioners for plantations; nor none under the value of subsidy-men, without a certificate of his having taken the oaths of supremacy and allegiance, and likewise from the minister of the parish, of his conversation and con-

formity to the orders and discipline of the Church of England. This was levelled against the Puritans, these going in great numbers to New England to avoid persecution at home; and a better sample needs not to be desired of the wisdom of this king and his ministers." *Vide Rymer's Fœdera*, Vol. XX. p. 143; also Letter of Henry Dade to the Archbishop of Canterbury, dated February 4th, 1634, Council Register, Colonial Papers, Charles I., Public Records Office.

To achieve this plan, it was first necessary to bring the colonies under the control of a commission, with extraordinary powers to effect its purposes; and this was done, on the 28th of April, when we find Laud and other officers of State commissioned "for making laws and orders for government of English colonies planted in foreign parts, with power to impose penalties and imprisonment for offences in ecclesiastical matters; to remove governors, and require an account of their government; to appoint judges and magistrates, and establish courts; to hear and determine all manner of complaints from the colonies; to have power over all charters and patents; and to revoke those surreptitiously obtained."²¹⁷ This was aimed directly at the Massachusetts Company, and was preliminary to a dissolution of the Council for New England, and a concentration of power in the hands of Sir Ferdinando. It was followed in a few days by a letter from Sir Ferdinando himself to the King, which shows his connection with the plan. In this letter he suggested that inasmuch as the King had taken into his own hands the management of the colonies, New England should be divided into several provinces, with a governor and assistants to each, and that over these should be set a "Lord Governor or Lord Lieutenant, for the settling of a public state," who was to be assisted by other proper officers.²¹⁸ In other words, there was to be placed over New England a viceregal government, wielding not only royal but ecclesiastical powers.

On

²¹⁷ *Vide* Commission to William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury *et als.*, dated at Westminster, April 28th, 1634, Colonial Papers, Charles I., Vol. VIII. No. 12, Public Records Office.

²¹⁸ *Vide* Letter of Sir Ferdinando Gorges to the King, dated May 12th, 1634, Colonial Papers, Charles I., Vol. VIII. No. 14, Public Records Office, *et postea*.

On June 6th, Gorges again wrote, this time to Secretary Windebank, hoping that he had "already sufficiently enlarged upon the necessity of some speedy course for settling the affairs of New England." He told the Secretary that he had conferred with Lord Lindsay, Lord Edward Gorges, and others, with reference to becoming "actors" in the government which he had proposed for New England; but thought that he had said enough to manifest his zeal in the service, and would leave what more he had to say for a fairer opportunity.²¹⁹

Gorges was now actively at work perfecting his plan for the government of New England, and we find him preparing "Considerations necessary to be resolved upon in settling the Governor for New England," which were submitted to Laud and his associates. One of these considerations was, whether persons going to New England should not "be bound to be conformable to the rights and ceremonies of the Church." He also suggested that the Plymouth Colony being neighbors to the Dutch and disaffected both to the King's government and to the State Ecclesiastical, made it unsafe to grant them more extent or authority, and he asked "whether it be not more than time these people should be looked unto."²²⁰

So potent was the influence of Sir Ferdinando with the King and Archbishop, that a letter was at once drawn to be signed by the King, giving all of his considerations the force and

²¹⁹ *Vide* Letter of Sir Ferdinando Gorges to Secretary Windebank, dated Ashton, June 6th, 1634, Colonial Papers, Charles I., Vol. VIII. No. 17, Public Records Office, *et postea*.

²²⁰ *Vide* Considerations necessary to be resolved upon, etc., without date, but in the latter part of 1634, in Colonial Papers, Charles I., Vol. VIII. No. 34, Public Records Office, *et postea*.

and sanction of law. He had been carefully founding his associate patentees relative to the future status of their charter, and on December 9th wrote the commissioners, asking for a confirmation of the charter of the Council for New England, with alterations and additions of privileges, and that the books and seals of the Council should be placed in the custody of whoever should be appointed the Governor of New England, an honor which he rightly expected to be bestowed upon himself.²²¹ We cannot believe that he had not already perfected his plan for a division of the Council's property, and intended by this request to perpetuate the Council's existence; but that he was endeavoring to get concessions of larger privileges agreed upon in advance, which might be transferred to individual members without friction, when the proper time was reached for a division. These might be obtained for an association of influential persons more readily than for separate individuals.

In these efforts he had an able assistant in Mason, with whom he was upon most intimate terms. On March 21st, 1635, he wrote Secretary Windebank, that he perceived that it was "the king's pleasure to assign him Governor of New England," and confirming the fears expressed in 1629 by Sherley to Governor Bradford, he pressed for the repeal of the patents which had been granted by the Council for New England to settlers in Massachusetts Bay. In this letter he spoke of a surrender of the charter of the Council for New England,²²² and a division of its property among the associates,

²²¹ *Vide* Letter of Sir Ferdinando Gorges to the Lords Commissioners of Plantations, December 9th, 1634, Colonial Papers, Charles I., Vol. VIII. No. 36. Public Records Office, *et passim*.

²²² *Vide* Letter of Sir Ferdinando Gorges

ciates, which the Council had formally voted to do at a meeting at the house of Lord Gorges on February 3d, and he desired that those who proposed to transport planters to New England should be referred to the Governor for directions where to settle them.²²⁸

Affairs were now hurried up. On the 18th of April the Council met at the house of Lord Gorges, and the reasons for surrendering its charter were entered upon its records.²²⁹ But few members attended these meetings, and it was easy to control affairs through a few interested persons. Everything was now in a fair way to place the entire control of New England in the hands of Sir Ferdinando. The charters of the Massachusetts Colony and that of the Plymouth adventurers were at the mercy of the commission, which was fully in sympathy with him; and his scheme for the surrender of the Council's charter had been agreed upon. Eight of the members were to swallow up the entire property of the corporation, and have it divided among them in severalty. Let not the stockholders in modern corporations bemoan the degeneracy of morals in boards of directorship in their profane times! Here was a scheme worthy of a Napoleonic financier of the nineteenth century. But how was this to be accomplished and avoid the many springs and toils which legal artifice had prepared to entrap those who might lose the royal favor, a thing always possible? A law existed that a royal charter might be at any time annulled if it could be shown

Gorges to Secretary Windebank, dated March 21st, 1635, Colonial Papers, Charles I., Vol. VIII. No. 52, Public Records Office, *et postea*.

²²⁸ *Vide Records of the Council for New England*, by Charles Deane, LL.D., Cambridge, 1867, pp. 66 *et seq.*

²²⁹ *Vide Ibid.*, pp. 74 *et seq.*

shown to have been granted by the King upon a misapprehension of facts. A withholding of facts at the time of application to the throne for a charter would render it liable to be annulled; and of course facts in the case of New England grantees were never forthcoming, as few facts respecting the territory granted were known by the applicants for charters, sometimes none at all.²²⁵ It was quite probable that when it became known to all the members of the New England corporation, that the property absorbed by eight of their number was of great and constantly increasing value, they might find a way to reach the royal ear and cause the possessors trouble; hence it was necessary to tie strong knots at all points of their scheme. First, it would be necessary for the members in their corporate capacity to convey to themselves their respective shares. This was the first requisite step, but it was not altogether secure. Somebody might object that there was collusion, and that a wrong had been perpetrated upon those members left out of the division. They would as managers have a perfect right to lease the lands of the corporation to eight persons not members of the body corporate, persons friendly to them, and who for a nominal consideration could assign their leases to them; hence it was decided that in addition to the several patents

²²⁵ The law declared that the King could not do an act prejudicial to the common weal, and that if he granted any franchise or privilege found to be so, such grant was void, on the ground that fraud had been used by the grantee in obtaining it. It was also a law that a grant made by the King at the suit of the grantee, should be taken most beneficially for the King and against the

grantee; and it was provided by a statute, 1 Henry IV. chap. 6, "that no grant of his shall be good, unless in the grantee's petition express mention be made of the real value of the lands." From all this it will be seen by what an insecure tenure a man or corporation held property acquired by royal grant, when it became the interest of those in power to render it void.

patents issued to them by the corporation, eight leases for the lengthy period of three thousand years should pass to trusted friends, who should in due form assign their leases to them. This would meet every legal requirement. All this must be accomplished before the surrender of their charter to the King, in whom they had but little confidence. Besides the two titles mentioned, it would tie up their titles as strongly as titles could be tied, for each of the eight confederates to have a charter of his portion directly from the Crown. Each would thus have three titles to fall back upon in case of trouble; namely, a patent from the Council for New England under its charter; a lease assigned him by a third party, a lessee of the Council; and a charter from the King. Here would be a good many strong meshes for legal experts to break through before they could reach the interests of the junta. All this was carefully arranged, and it was understood that, upon the surrender of their charter to the King, he was to issue a separate charter to each of the eight patentees, thereby removing any question of illegality from the transaction.

On the 22d, at a meeting of the corporation at the house of Lord Gorges, the several patents, as previously agreed upon, were completed and passed to the eight favored members, and the leases of the same territory signed and delivered to their friends, who were really trustees, though this important fact was not mentioned in the instruments, lest it should prove a cloud to title. This closed the business for the day; but on the 26th, a petition to the King having been prepared, praying him to cause to be issued separate charters to the patentees, was approved, and the appointment of Sir

Ferdinando Gorges to the governor-generalship of New England was announced. Having completed its various business affairs, the Council surrendered its charter to the King on the 7th of June, 1635.²²⁶ Sir Ferdinando had assigned to him the territory between the Piscataqua and the Sagadahoc, extending one hundred and twenty miles from the sea-coast. To the west was his bosom friend Mason, and next to him his kinsman Lord Edward Gorges, while he was the lord governor of the entire territory of New England, endowed with almost regal powers, and fully competent to locate the numerous planters pouring into the country upon such territory as he thought proper.

Evidently the prospect of a speedy settlement of Maine, or New Somersetshire as it was then called, appeared promising to the lord proprietor. It was a brilliant scheme, but one upon which Providence was not to smile. New England was destined for something better than such a government, a glance at whose archetype in Old England reveals abuses of power appalling to one who views them in the light of to-day.

It had been fully understood that royal charters of their several portions were immediately to issue to the proprietors upon surrender of the New England charter, and Thomas Morton was acting as their solicitor; but the King was in no hurry to complete the expected documents. On November 26th the proprietors, having apparently become uneasy, met and voted, "That the passing of the particular patents
was

²²⁶ *Vide Records of the Council for New England*, by Charles Deane, LL.D., Cambridge, 1867, pp. 71-81.



Ruins of the Private Chapel attached to Ashton Phillips,
SOMERSETSHIRE.

the perversion of every form of justice. Even Morton, a vile fellow whom they had unwisely punished, was to return a trusted instrument of the new government. They learned, moreover, that ships and soldiers were soon to appear to enforce the authority of that government. Had they not left home and undergone sacrifices too painful to contemplate, that they might escape these hated bonds, which were now once more to be cast about them? It was a season of terrible suspense in the Massachusetts Colony, and with the spirit which afterwards inspired the Revolutionary Fathers, preparations for defence were promptly undertaken.

But the terrible visions which the colonists had conjured up were to be dissipated in a manner to their eyes miraculous. "The Lord," said Winthrop, "frustrated their design."²⁰ A ship which had been put upon the stocks for transporting the governor-general, his officers and troops to New England, in launching met with a singular mishap; in fact, was so damaged as to be deemed past repair.²¹ Captain Mason, the vice-admiral of the new government, and the mainstay of Gorges, was touched by the wand of Death and vanished away. The King, upon whom Gorges relied for assistance

²⁰ *Vide The History of New England*, by John Winthrop, Esq., Boston, 1853, Vol. I. p. 192.

²¹ "One Ferdinando Gorges," says D'Ewes. "was nominated for Governor, and there was a consultation had to send him thither with a thousand soldiers; a ship was now in building and near finished to transport him by sea, and much fear there was amongst the godly, lest that infant commonwealth and church should have been ruined by him; when God, that had carried so

many weak and crazy ships thither, so provided it, that this strong, new-built ship in the very launching fell all in pieces, no man knew how, this spring ensuing, and so preserved his dear children there at this present from that fatal danger, nor hath hence suffered them as yet to come under the like fear." *Vide Autobiography and Correspondence of Sir Simonds D'Ewes, Bart.*, edited by James Orchard Halliwell, Esq., London, 1845, Vol. II. p. 118.

assistance, by continued persistence in misrule had raised a storm which engrossed his attention; besides, his resources were exhausted to such an extent, that to maintain his household he was obliged to resort to forced loans;²⁸² indeed, Gorges was left alone to manage the affairs of the new government. Though sadly crippled, he went forward with his usual spirit, and set the wheels of his government in motion to the best of his ability. He did not go in person as he intended to go; perhaps a potent reason for his remaining at home was that he might be at hand to plead for his promised charter, which had not yet been issued to him. He however sent over his nephew, William Gorges,²⁸³ a man of

²⁸² As an evidence of the injustice and folly perpetrated in this reign, an instance or two may be mentioned. Thus, in 1635, the King issued a proclamation complaining that public carriages were a great disturbance to him, "his dearest consort the queen," and also to the "nobility and others of place and degree." By these public vehicles he declared that the pavements were broken up, and that the price of hay and provender was made higher by them; hence their use was forbidden in London and its suburbs, except to persons going on a journey out of the city a distance of not less than three miles. It was also commanded that no person should go in a coach in the streets except the owner of the coach should keep up four able horses for the King's service when required. This proclamation caused great hardship, not only to the owners of public carriages but to those not able to own private ones, and the discontent of the people found vent in loud complaints. This opened a way to create another monopoly, and the King showed his "gracious consideration" to his suffering people by issuing another pro-

clamation, to the effect that "finding it very requisite for our nobility and gentry, as well as for foreign ambassadors, strangers and others, that there should be a competent number of hackney coaches allowed" for public use, he granted full power and authority to the Marquis of Hamilton, one of his favorites, to have control during life of all the public carriages in the kingdom, and to prescribe rules and fix such prices for their use as he thought proper. The number in London was limited to fifty coaches and six hundred horses; but the number in other parts of England was left to the discretion of the Marquis to determine. Of course, this monopoly brought in a rich revenue, of which a large portion was loaned to the royal beggar. Another arbitrary act was an order to all the silversmiths of London to live in Goldsmiths' Row, an act which has been pronounced so cruel and absurd as to render animadversion upon it needless. *Vide Rymer's Fœdera*, Vol. XIX. p. 21; *Ibid.*, Vol. XX. pp. 195 *et passim*.

²⁸³ William Gorges was the eleventh of twelve children born to Sir Edward, the elder brother of Sir Ferdinando Gorges.

of considerable character, as Governor of New Somersetshire, which was his own particular portion of New England. William Gorges, soon after his arrival in the country, proceeded to Saco, where he established his government, and on the 21st of March, 1636, opened his court for the trial of causes.

It was the intention of the new government to make New Somersetshire the centre of royal and prelatical power, which was to be extended as soon as practicable over New England. This had been the aim of Gorges from the beginning. The Rev. Richard Seymour, as we have seen, accompanied the Popham Colony, and established ritualistic worship at the mouth of the Sagadahoc in 1607; and when Robert Gorges was sent over in 1623, he was accompanied by the Rev. William Morrell, who had the authority conferred upon him of superintending the churches of New England. So likewise, now, the Rev. Richard Gibson²⁸⁴ was sent over to establish the English Church in New Somersetshire. William Gorges conducted his administration with prudence and in a manner acceptable to the people of the Province, but becoming dissatisfied he returned to England early in 1637.

During this period Gorges was not inactive. George Cleeve, who had lived at Casco Bay for several years, having gone to New England, as many other planters had gone, with the promise of a grant of land if they permanently

Gorges. He was baptized at Wrexall, February 2d, 1605, and hence was thirty years of age when he came to New England. He was buried at Wrexall, on February 9th, 1658.

²⁸⁴ For a brief sketch of the Rev. Richard Gibson, *vide George Cleeve and his Times*, by James Phinney Baxter, A.M., Portland, 1885, p. 81.

nently settled in the country, returned to England, and in fulfilment of his promise Sir Ferdinando conveyed to him and his partner Richard Tucker a grant of a peninsula, called by the Indians Machegonne, which he named Stogomor.²⁸⁶ Cleeve had been before the court of William Gorges at Saco, and though poor must have made a favorable impression upon the Governor, as an unfavorable opinion, if expressed by his nephew, would have been likely to deter Sir Ferdinando from taking Cleeve into his confidence. Be this as it may, it is certain that he made a good impression upon Sir Ferdinando, who, finding that his nephew's government had terminated, appointed Cleeve with Governor Winthrop and others joint commissioners for the government of New Somersetshire. Cleeve's representations of the value of the fur trade of the North induced Sir Ferdinando

²⁸⁶ This is the modern Stogumber, a picturesque village in the hundred of Williton Freemanors and rural deanery of Dunster in Somersetshire. From Dunster came the Algers and other early settlers about the Spurwink River; and at Stogumber were born John Winter and Richard Tucker. Not far away is Cleeve and Cleeve Bay, suggestive certainly of the early home of the Cleeve family, though of this there is no existing proof. The old church of St. Mary, where John Winter was christened on the 9th of January, 1575, and Richard Tucker on the 22d of January, 1594, is still well preserved. A weather-worn cross and venerable yew-tree, familiar doubtless to many of the early settlers in Casco Bay, make the moss grown churchyard, where

"Beneath the turf in many a mould'ring heap

The rude forefathers of the hamlet sleep,"

most impressive to the visitor. The church itself is an attractive edifice in the perpendicular style of architecture, with a spacious chancel separated from the nave by an oaken screen. It has two chapels and pretty north and south porches, an embattled tower over seventy feet in height, with a clock and five bells. In the chancel are two memorial windows of stained glass, and on the south side a grim effigy of a mailed knight, recumbent, between his two wives. This is to perpetuate the memory of Sir George Sydenham, the father-in-law of Sir Francis Drake, a man whose spirit, owing to his deeds in the flesh, is said to have haunted the ancient manor-house of Combe Sydenham for many years after his death. The registers, which I was allowed to examine by the incumbent, date back to 1585, and are well preserved. It is to be hoped that they will at some time be printed.

Ferdinando to procure for him a protection under the privy signet for exploring Lake Champlain, or the lake of the Iroquois, and a monopoly of the fur trade of that region.

Sir Ferdinando had thus far found it impracticable to assume himself the government of New England; indeed, he had not yet received his commission, though he could have obtained it without doubt at any time had he required it. His finances were probably inadequate to his assumption of the office of governor-general. The death of Mafon had embarrassed him financially, and the administrators of his friend's estate were pressing him for a settlement of their joint affairs,²³⁶ which was no easy matter. He therefore seems to have favored a joint government of New England by Winthrop and others as a last resort; but this plan met with the opposition of Mathew Cradock, the wise and prudent friend of Massachusetts, who saw in it complications which might result unfavorably to his friends; hence it was never completed. It is probable that an extensive grant which he made at this time to Sir Richard Edgecomb, who was his near neighbor when he resided at Plymouth, was the result of his present financial condition.

In July the King was moved to issue a manifesto for establishing a general government over New England, on account of "several opinions and differing humors not in the power of the Council of New England to redress." In order to repair what might be amiss, he declared that he had resolved for the future good of those making adventures
to

²³⁶ *Vide* Report of the Sub-committee Council, Colonial Papers, Charles I., for Foreign Plantations to the Privy Vol. X. No. 18, Public Records Office.

to New England, to appoint Sir Ferdinando Gorges governor of the country, he having made the first discovery of its coasts, and been a principal actor in its affairs. Farther than this, he commanded that none should go to New England without Sir Ferdinando's knowledge, and his permission and direction where to settle. The other patentees were granted the privilege of going to New England in person to settle upon their estates, and to transport colonists thither.²³⁷

This was alarming to Massachusetts, but was followed by acts still more alarming. Gorges had been a constant suitor to the throne for his charter, and the King's manifesto was followed by an order from the Privy Council, on January 23d, 1638, to Attorney-General Sir John Banks, for drawing in favor of Gorges a patent for the Province of Maine, which after the approval of the Council was to be duly executed.²³⁸ Sir Ferdinando succeeded in getting into this charter extraordinary privileges and powers of government, as we shall see.

A strong desire for emigration seems suddenly to have prevailed in some parts of England. Among the evidences of this is a letter from Lord Maynard to Archbishop Laud, informing him that "divers clothiers of great trading" were about to leave for New England, and that he daily hears of "incredible numbers of persons of very good abilities who have sold their lands and are upon their departure thence." He fears that there is danger that some parishes will be impoverished, as so much corn has been taken for the sustenance

²³⁷ *Vide* Colonial Papers, Charles I., Vol. IX. No. 60, Public Records Office. ²³⁸ *Vide* Colonial Papers, Charles I., Vol. IX. No. 81, Public Records Office.

tenance of the emigrants that enough will not be left to last to another harvest. Fourteen ships are now on the Thames ready to sail by the coming Easter.²³⁹ We have observed that no vessels could go to New England without the license of Sir Ferdinando; and accordingly eight ships which had taken on board their freight and passengers without observing this order were seized on the Thames in the beginning of May, and order was given to put their passengers on shore as well as their provisions. This was speedily followed by *quo warranto* proceedings against the Massachusetts charter, which Gorges was anxious to get annulled. Amid all these dangers Massachusetts stood firm, with picked flint, dry powder, and an abundant faith to protect its interests. It coolly and confidently sent out surveyors to settle its southern boundary, and united with the Plymouth and Connecticut colonists in a war of extermination against the savage Pequots.²⁴⁰

On the other hand, Sir Ferdinando Gorges in England, with the royal power at his back, was laboring to make that power effective in establishing his authority over the land. On June 20th he drew up elaborate "Reasons to prove the consequence of maintaining and supporting foreign plantations," with a view to obtaining direct assistance from the Government in support of his authority. He pointed

²³⁹ Vide Letter of Lord William Maynard to Archbishop Laud, March 17th, 1638; Colonial Papers, Charles I., Vol. IX. No. 88, Public Records Office.

²⁴⁰ Vide *The Life of Captain John Mason*, Sparks's *American Biography*, Vol. XIII. pp. 340-405; *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*,

Vol. I. p. 147; *Ibid.*, Vol. XVIII. pp. 120-153; *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIII. pp. 131-161; *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVI. pp. 1-13; *A Complete History of Connecticut*, by Benjamin Trumbull, Vol. I. p. 41; *Early History of New England*, by Increase Mather, Boston, 1864, pp. 113-118, 130-136 *et passim*.

pointed to the example of the Romans, the Spaniards, and the Dutch in planting colonies and sustaining them by governmental aid, and asserted that such colonies would redound to the honor of the Crown, and that those who were now refractory might be brought to submit to the authority of the governor-general.²⁴¹ These Reasons, which he had framed with care, he believed would gain him practical assistance from the Crown. But what could Charles or Laud do for him? Virtually nothing. Their arbitrary acts had raised a storm of popular resentment against them, and they had too much to engage their attention at home to allow them time to consider seriously his Reasons; besides, they had exhausted the revenues of the realm, and no money could be had to place him in his office and sustain him there. Lord Cottington treated his Reasons with ridicule, and when Gorges spoke of the planting of new countries by the Romans, Spanish, and Dutch, Cottington wrote on the margin of his paper that they conquered, and did not "plant tobacco and Puritanism like fools." And to his assertion that the King would receive honor from such enterprises, Cottington wrote, "What honor if no profit, but extreme scandal to the whole Christian world?" Thus were the Reasons from which Gorges hoped much, since the King had made such a royal display of favor in his manifesto, received by the Privy Council.

Sir Ferdinando was now upwards of seventy years of age,

²⁴¹ *Vide* Sir Ferdinando Gorges to Secretary Windebank, June 20th, 1638: Charles I., Vol. IX. No. 116, Public Records Office, *et postea*.
"Reasons to prove the Consequence of Maintaining and Supporting Foreign

age, and from his long-continued and persistent efforts to get assistance for his colonial schemes was beginning to be looked upon as a hobbyist, if not a monomaniac, on the question of foreign plantations. Captain Walter Neal, emboldened by the weak condition of Sir Ferdinando's affairs, made a determined effort to supplant him in his office of governor-general, for which no commission had yet been issued, but failed in his attempts. Sir Ferdinando, however, was finally, on April 3d, 1639, rewarded with a charter for his Province of Maine, for which he had so long labored; and a most remarkable charter it indeed was. It bestowed upon him almost unlimited powers, and well exemplifies the contempt in which popular rights were held by the ruling class. Under it he controlled the patronage of all churches erected in the Province; could build, dedicate, and consecrate churches according to the ecclesiastical laws of England, with all the rights, privileges, prerogatives, etc., as were exercised by the Bishop of Durham within his bishopric. Full power was granted to him to pardon offenders against the laws of the Province; to raise and maintain troops to enforce his power, and to execute martial law upon those who resisted his authority; in fact, it would have been difficult to frame a charter conferring greater powers upon an individual than were conferred upon Sir Ferdinando.²⁴³

He had now finally attained what he tells us he had labored

²⁴³ This extraordinary charter may be found in *Historical Collections* by Ebenezer Hazard, A.M., Philadelphia, 1792, Vol. I. pp. 442-455, and is printed in full in this volume from the copy in the Massachusetts Archives, with such words added in brackets as appear in the document in the Public Records Office. These words were evidently omissions by a careless copyist.

labored for during forty years of the best portion of his life, under a burden of trouble, and at the expense of many thousands of pounds. In a letter to Secretary Windebank from Ashton, on the 28th of January, 1640, he informed the Secretary that he had received letters from New England which convinced him that, had he not received from the King a charter confirmatory of his former rights, no more of the territory of his Province than what was already occupied by his servants would have remained to him, as his rights were being constantly brought in question by people settling within the Province, but seeking authority from Massachusetts "to order their affairs as if they alone were the supreme lords of that part of the world. But," he continued, "having his Majesty's gracious favor, there is nothing shall deter me from my attempt to make his power available, when I have his warrant to do it." He had also been informed that attempts would be made by the agents of Massachusetts to persuade the King to hinder him from prosecuting his intentions, as they feared that the King might make use of him to regulate affairs in accordance with his views of right. From this letter we learn that Sir Ferdinando, in spite of his years, intended to go to New England in person, there to set up his government.²⁴⁸

In accordance with plans which he had matured, shaped upon Saxon models of government which had existed in England from an early date, he proceeded to divide his Province into eight bailiwicks, and these into sixteen several hundreds,

²⁴⁸ *Vide* Letter of Sir Ferdinando Gorges to Secretary Windebank, January 28th, 1640. Colonial Papers, Charles I., Vol. X. No. 55, Public Records Office, *et postea*.

hundreds, subdividing the latter into parishes and tithings "as people did increafe." A board of councillors was then formed, consisting of Sir Thomas Josselyn; Richard Vines, the founder of Biddeford; Francis Champernown, the nephew of Gorges; Henry Josselyn, then residing at Black Point; Richard Bonython, the founder of Saco; William Hooke and Edward Godfrey. Subsequently he substituted in place of Sir Thomas Josselyn his cousin Thomas Gorges, a young barrister, whom he made his deputy governor and entrusted with the office of Secretary and Keeper of the Provincial Seal. His "Ordinances for the better government" of Maine provided for a chancellor for determining rights of property; a treasurer for the receipt of the public revenue; a marshal of militia; a judge, marshal, and officers of the marshal's court; an admiral, with his lieutenant or judge, to determine maritime causes; a master of the ordnance, whose office it was to take charge of the public stores belonging to the militia for sea and land; and a secretary for the service of the Governor and Council. To his councillors were added eight deputies, to be elected by the freeholders of the several counties, as councillors for the state of the country, who were authorized to sit in the courts established in the Province, "and to be assistants to the presidents thereof, and to give opinions according to justice." No alienation or sale of land could be made but by consent of the Council.

But enough has been given to show the care which Sir Ferdinando exercised in arranging the machinery with which the affairs of his government were to be carried on. Those curious to study the whole plan can do so by consulting

consulting his Brief Narration. In accordance with the "Ordinances" before mentioned, a court was convened at Saco on the 25th of June by the "Councillors of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, for the preservation of justice through his Province," at which a large number of actions were entered.²⁴⁴ Later in the season, Thomas Gorges²⁴⁵ arrived in the country, and in accordance with his instructions, before proceeding to Maine sojourned a short period in Boston to study affairs there, soliciting the advice of the Massachusetts magistrates relative to the course to be pursued in setting affairs right in his new government.

Reaching Agamenticus, at that time called Bristol, he found one George Burdett,²⁴⁶ a preacher and man of dissolute habits, virtually controlling political affairs there. A contest at once ensued, and Burdett was summarily arrested and brought before the court, when he was found guilty of several crimes and fined. He appealed from the court to England, but without result, and Gorges seizing his property to satisfy the execution against him, he left the country. Thomas Gorges by judicious management succeeded in making his government generally satisfactory. Thus we have before us two neighboring governments founded upon sharply antagonistic principles: the one of the people, by the people, and for the people; the other of the lord proprietor, by the lord proprietor, and for the lord proprietor. Which should

²⁴⁴ The original records are still preserved at Alfred, York County, Maine.

²⁴⁵ Thomas Gorges had but just passed his majority when he came to New England. An account of him will be found in *Notes on the Gorges Family, postea*.

²⁴⁶ For a brief account of Burdett, reference may be made to the *Trelawny Papers*, edited by James Phinney Baxter, A.M., Portland, 1884, p. 249.

should be the more hardy, and which the more likely to thrive in the stubborn soil and shrewd air of New England? We shall see.

Sir Ferdinando Gorges had now everything arranged to his satisfaction. True, he was in need of money to enlarge his power; but he expected not only to draw aid from his influential friends, but to have royal assistance in good time. Never before had his colonial affairs been placed upon foundations apparently so firm, nor their future prospects so assuring; when, like a hidden volcano which had muttered its discontent so long that it had become a thing no longer to heed, the GREAT REBELLION suddenly burst forth upon England, and threatened destruction to the nation. The abused and long-suffering people arose in their might and seized upon Wentworth, one of the royal instruments of tyranny, and dragging him to Westminster Hall tried him for his life before the eyes of the King and Queen; and while doing so, regardless of that "divinity which doth hedge a king," they ate their bread and meat and guzzled their beer from upturned bottles in the royal presence, as though no king were near. Ay, and regardless of their monarch's entreaties, and of justice too, they cut off Wentworth's head.²⁴⁷ Not contented, they seized Archbishop Laud with snowy bands and silken surplice, things which to have spoken against a week before would have sent the objector to dungeon or scaffold, and after a weary imprisonment of years brought him through judicial legerdemain to the block.

Windebank

²⁴⁷ *Vide The Tryal of Thomas, Earl of Strafford*, by John Rushworth, Esq., London, 1700; *Letters and Journals* written by the deceased Mr. Robert Baillie, transcribed by Robert Aiken, Edinburgh, 1775, Vol. I. p. 259.

Windebank fled, and others whom Gorges counted as friends to his colonial enterprises. One would suppose that this last blow would have overwhelmed him with despair; but the old man must perforce amuse himself a while longer with the puppets of viceregal authority, and amid the perplexities and distractions of the civil war which raged about him, he carefully elaborated a scheme of government, with a calm confidence in its stability almost pitiful when one considers the conditions which surrounded it and rendered its failure inevitable. Resolved to make Agamenticus of chief importance in his Province, he erected it into a borough, exempting and freeing "his majesties' liege people" there from the power and command of any governors in the Province, "other than in calling them as assistants" to repel invasion and suppress rebellion. Upon the inhabitants was conferred the especial privilege of electing a mayor and board of eight aldermen, who were empowered to make ordinances for the government of the borough, to hold courts, and erect fortifications for the public protection.

The elaborate charter which conferred these privileges upon the inhabitants of Agamenticus was dated April 10th.²⁴⁸ On March 1st following, namely 1641 old style, he had elaborated a still grander scheme for Agamenticus, upon which he now bestowed a new name, Gorgeana.²⁴⁹ The borough, which was a town corporate usually governed by a bailiff appointed by the lord-grantor of the borough charter in connection with a house of burgesses, he raised to the dignity

²⁴⁸ *Vide Historical Collections*, by Ebenezer Hazard, A.M., Philadelphia, 1792, Vol. I. pp. 470-474.

²⁴⁹ *Vide Ibid.*, pp. 480-486.

dignity of a city, by which it might appropriately become the seat of a bishop, and gave it a territorial extent of twenty-one miles. Starting with the assertion that he was the absolute lord of the Province, and had through the assistance of God "settled the said Province and inhabitants thereof in a hopeful way of government," and desiring "to further and advance the same," he provided for a municipal government, consisting of a mayor, twelve aldermen, and twenty-four councilmen, to be chosen annually, and also for a recorder and town clerk. Two courts were appointed, one called a "Courtleet or Lawday," to be held twice every year "within a month of the Feasts of Easter or Michaelmas, for the good government and weal public of the said Corporation, and for the punishing of all offenders, the same to be kept by the Recorder for the time being, and the fines, payments, and amercements from time to time to be to the use of the said mayor of the said town for the time being forever." The other court was "to be held upon Monday of every week forever, and the proceedings to be according or as near as may be to the Court of his Majesty's Court of Chancery at Westminster, wherein the mayor for the time being to sit as judge with the Recorder and aldermen, and the town clerk to be the clerk and minister of said court." From this court an appeal could be taken to the Lord Proprietor or his deputy, if entered within four days after the decree of the court. There were also to be "two or four sergeants to attend on the said mayor," who should be "called forever sergeants of the white rod." These were to be "elected and chosen by the mayor and aldermen, whereof the mayor [was] to have a double voice." These
sergeants

fergeants could be removed from office for misdemeanor by those who elected them. To the "mayor and comonality" was granted a corporate seal, and, as in the former charter, they were empowered to erect fortifications for the public defence.

Such in brief is an outline of the charter of Gorgeana, and there can be no doubt that having made it appropriate for a bishop's residence, it was the intention of Sir Ferdinando to make of it a bishopric, which would be in accord with the King's pleasure as expressed in his charter, which was to settle "the religion now possessed in the Church of England, and ecclesiastical government now used in the same, with as much convenient speed as may be." Sir Ferdinando was confidently expecting an early restoration of royal authority in the kingdom, and he had thus arranged everything in his Province of Maine to take advantage of it. With the restoration of that authority, the exodus which had been actively going on in England for several years would receive a new impetus, and where hundreds had fled to escape the rigid rule of king and bishop, thousands, upon the re-establishment of that rule with the prestige of triumphant vindication of its asserted rights, would turn their faces to the NEW WORLD, and this great stream of emigration he might turn by the authority vested in him into his Province of Maine.

But his calculations were based upon erroneous premises, and were all at fault. The emigration which had poured from England in an ever enlarging stream, bearing to the New World much of the best blood of the realm, stopped as though it had been arrested by the hand of Divine power.

Men

Men saw, as though a flash of light had suddenly revealed it in the long prevailing gloom, a possible pathway to freedom at home, without the necessity of facing the perils of the sea and of life in a savage land. Shipowners, whose business in transporting emigrants to New England had been prosperous, and which they confidently calculated would be permanent, and indeed continually increase, sat in their counting-houses with gloomy faces, while their ships swung idly at their anchors waiting for passengers who never came.

All England was in an uproar, and Sir Ferdinando Gorges, although too far advanced in years to enter with old-time activity into the conflict, gave the weight of his counsels and experience to the royal cause. We therefore find him in July with his son-in-law, Mr. Thomas Smyth, at Bristol, five miles from Ashton, his country residence, applying to the mayor for permission to bring into the city, under the command of Lord Paulet, a body of cavalry, which had been raised by the Marquis of Hertford for the King. In this application, however, he was unsuccessful, the mayor having excused himself for refusing his request on the ground of having received the royal orders not to admit troops into the city.

Shortly after, Lord Paulet having joined the Marquis of Hertford at Wells, and with him, doubtless, Sir Ferdinando and Thomas Smyth, the royalists were attacked and driven away by Popham and other gentlemen who had espoused the popular cause. Whether he was actively engaged in this battle we have no direct evidence; but about this time we find him endeavoring to return home-ward,

ward, and finding the Parliamentary forces in the way, taking ship at Minehead with Lord Paulet and others for Cardiff. There his son-in-law, Thomas Smyth, suddenly died, and he returned to Ashton with his body, where he found awaiting him a summons from Parliament to appear before it as a delinquent.²⁶⁰

While these events, dangerous to his person and property, were transpiring at home, his colonial possessions were menaced by new dangers. George Cleeve, whom we have before mentioned as an ambitious and enterprising man, to whom he had conveyed certain lands and privileges in New England, but whom, owing to the enmity of Vines and others, he had ignored when establishing his government over Maine, hastened to take ship for England, in order to advance his interests with the Parliamentary leaders. He had studied a patent, then in the possession of Richard Dummer of Newbury, issued by the Council for New England to the Company of Husbandmen in 1630, for territory forty miles square between Cape Porpoise and the Sagadahoc river, which Gorges had doubtless himself named the Province of Lygonia, but the title to which he had carelessly regarded as broken, the grantees not having held *de facto* possession of their property. Cleeve upon his arrival in England fell in with Thomas Morton, whose convenience it now suited to play the rôle of a reformer, and doubtless through that wily and skilful Parliamentary lobbyist obtained

²⁶⁰ *Vide Memoirs, Historical and Antiquities of the City of Bristol*, by Topographical, of Bristol, by the Rev. William Barrett, M.D., Bristol, 1788, Samuel Seyer, M.A., Bristol, 1821, p. 414.
Vol. II. pp. 309 et seq. : *History and*

tained an introduction to Sir Alexander Rigby, a member of Parliament, whom he induced to buy the Lygonia patent, and to appoint him deputy-governor of the Province, the bounds of which comprised the larger and more valuable portion of Sir Ferdinando's Province of Maine.

Having secured his commission, Cleeve hastened back to New England to take possession of his government and oust Vines, then acting as Sir Ferdinando's deputy, Thomas Gorges having returned home on account of the civil war. Cleeve, upon his arrival in Boston, in the autumn of 1643, at once sought an interview with Governor Winthrop and his associates, from whom he confidently expected assistance in establishing his authority, which would bring the viceregal government of Gorges, so distasteful to them, to an inglorious end. But the Massachusetts magistrates were prudent, and unwilling to assume dangerous responsibilities; and besides, they were studying their northern boundary, which thus far had never been defined upon the face of the earth, and which they were beginning to see would include a large portion of the Province of Maine, if their charter were strictly interpreted: so they concluded only to instruct their Governor to advise Vines unofficially of the transfer of power to Rigby and his representative Cleeve.

Vines and his associates received the unwelcome news with surprise and dismay, and resolved at once to maintain their position, and defy encroachments upon their authority, while Cleeve quietly and prudently set about taking measures to establish his authority. First he nominated his officers, and then called a convention to assemble in Casco Bay on March 25th; that is, on New Year's Day, 1644, two months after the
the

the date of his call, in order to give the people ample time to discuss the proposed change of government. At the same time he sent his partner Tucker through the Province with a paper for the signatures of those who approved of his course. On the other hand, Vines was determined to maintain his position; and not only raised legal objections to Cleeve's every movement, but brought every influence which was possible to prevent the Massachusetts authorities from aiding his rival. He wrote Winthrop that Cleeve was abusing Sir Ferdinando Gorges, branding him "with the foul name of traitor by circumstance," and accusing him of counterfeiting "the King's broad seal," and reporting his death, all of which was false, as he was still "in good health, with a restoration of his possessions again." This last stroke was intended to remind the Puritan Governor that it would be dangerous to support such a libeller against one so powerful as the Lord Proprietor still was. The validity of the Lygonia Patent was also attacked, with the result that Cleeve offered to submit the questions of title and government to "the worthy magistrates of Massachusetts." This was refused by Vines, upon the ground that he had no authority from Sir Ferdinando to submit his title to arbitration, which was of course true. Vines, however, acted imprudently in arresting Tucker, Cleeve's messenger to him, and threatening to send Cleeve a prisoner to England, which increased the hostility to his government without in any way strengthening his position.

But we will not follow the intricacies of this contest for the possession of Maine,²⁶¹ which have already been particularly

²⁶¹ *Vide George Cleeve and his Times*, by James Phinney Baxter, A.M., Portland, 1885.

larly related, but return to Sir Ferdinando Gorges, who was occupied sufficiently by the distressing condition of affairs about him. Interested in the success of the royal cause, we find him writing to the King respecting a plan which he submitted to him for the capture of some place which he does not name. The letter bears no date, and is extremely ambiguous; but a careful study of it in connection with the movements of the King in the summer of 1643 enables us to arrive at its probable solution, and to give to Sir Ferdinando Gorges the honor of having planned the attack upon Bristol, which was, as we know, successful. His letter was accompanied by a "plott" or plan of the approaches to the unmentioned place, which, he says, "I have brought of purpose to give your Highness a full satisfaction of every particular, that so you may proceed with the more assurance, and the plainer give order what every one is to do, and how to behave himself in the execution thereof, whereby the distractions may be the better avoided which many times attend such designs, and will the better confirm the minds of the assailants, who shall see beforehand what they are to observe, and be attended with sufficient guides to bring them to their several places they are assigned, with order to proceed according to your Highnesses directions." The Governor, he informed the King, had so extended his defences as to be unable to protect all parts of them properly with the forces at his command; hence an attack would be likely to meet with success.²⁶² We know the result of the attack upon Bristol. The first assault was made at a weak place in the mural defences, and a breach made, by which

²⁶² *Vide* Additional Manuscripts, No. 18780, fol. 98, British Museum, *et passim*.

which the Royalists entered the town, and moved forward to the house of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, which they occupied, and there maintained their position for several hours, when having expended their powder they were driven out; but in a subsequent attack the city capitulated to Prince Rupert.²⁶⁸ The capture of Bristol was considered of great importance to the Royalists, and caused great alarm to their opponents. The tidings of its fall, following those of the death of Hampden, were blown across the water, and greatly elated the spirits of Sir Ferdinando's faithful henchmen, Vines, Godfrey, and Josselyn, while they equally depressed the spirit of Cleeve. Rigby had too much on his hands to render aid to his deputy, having left Parliament and assumed command in the field. It would be time enough to direct his attention thitherward when he had subdued his enemies at home. For a while the royal cause prospered, but the superior generalship of Oliver Cromwell soon began to turn the scale in favor of the Parliamentarians. Sir Ferdinando Gorges took no active part in the war at this period. His age rendered this necessary; and from a letter written somewhat later to a friend on the other side, we may infer that he held conservative views, like many other thoughtful men who had espoused the royal cause, and who desired a compromise between the parties at contest, by which the usurpations of the rights of the subject by their monarch, which had been patent to all men, might be restrained.

In his Province, Vines was still battling vigorously to maintain his position. He refused to submit to any authority

²⁶⁸ *Vide Memoirs, Historical and Topographical, of Bristol*, by Samuel Seyer, M.A., Bristol, 1821, Vol. II. p. 404.

thority but that of King or Parliament, by which refusal he showed his entire comprehension of the questions at issue, and a manly determination to protect at all hazards the interests which Gorges had entrusted to his keeping. But the news of the battle of Naseby, almost fatal to the royal cause, reached him, and at last, wholly disheartened, he resolved to give up the wearisome contest. Relinquishing his office to Henry Josselyn, in 1645, he disposed of his possessions in the Province, and departed for Barbadoes with his family.

Although Vines left an able and faithful man in his place, Gorges suffered a severe loss by his departure from the Province; besides, a decision in favor of his rival Rigby was rendered by the Commissioners for Foreign Plantations, to whom Parliament had referred the case, and at the head of whom was the Earl of Warwick, a co-grantor with him in 1630 of the patent in dispute, declaring the Lygonia Patent to be valid. This must have been a sharp blow to his hopes; indeed, what had a long life of labor in behalf of colonization brought him but loss, continued loss, for a period of forty years? Loss had become a matter of course with him, and he had doubtless attained a state of feeling in which he could regard it with equanimity. The shining peaks of eternity were coming clearly into view, and he could well regard with calmness the petty temporal wrecks about him.

Confined to his home at Ashton for a considerable period, he happily devoted himself to the preparation of his Brief Narration, which was intended to hand down to posterity an account of his colonial undertakings. It was a wise thought
which

which prompted him to prepare this book, which is invaluable as preserving many of the historical beginnings of New England. With respect to the book itself, it is plainly the work of an old man, to whom the chronological lines separating events had become indistinct and confused, and whose mind was wholly absorbed in the events themselves; hence, while one may put confidence in the correctness of the relations, it is plain to see that they overlap and run into each other.

The last letter which we have from Sir Ferdinando bears date June 1st, and was written from Ashton to Lord Fairfax,²⁶⁴ the noted Parliamentary leader. It is the utterance of a man who has suffered deeply, but is calm and manly in tone, and exhibits his sentiments with regard to the unhappy differences between King and people which were causing the ruin of his country. The letter shows that he had for some time taken no active part in the conflict, being probably incapacitated from duty in the camp by age; but that he had aided the King's cause by his counsels is shown by previous correspondence. His affection to Fairfax, who was an old friend, he says, "never swayed me further than became an obedient servant" to the King, one who was "only careful of my country's happiness, and yet fearful to side with either party, as not able to judge of so transcendent a difference, but sorrowing in the highest degree to find such a separation threatening so much the power

²⁶⁴ *Vide* Additional Manuscripts, No. 15857, folio 257, British Museum, *et postea*. This letter is to be found printed in a modernized form in *Bell's Memo-*

rials of the Civil War, Vol. I. p. 299, but is printed in this volume from the original, *verbatim et literatim*.

power of all; which God, I hope, hath timely prevented, by guiding his Majesty to the happy advice of his greatest councils, whose wisdom (under God) is only able to re-establish some part of the happiness we once enjoyed."

We have made this extract in order to correct what might seem a piece of insincerity on the part of the writer, if not carefully considered. Though "fearful to side with either party" might imply that he had not taken sides, yet this was not what he meant. He was writing to a man who knew that he was on the royal side, acting "as an obedient servant," yet doing so with fear on account of the grave interests at stake, involving the welfare of his countrymen.

He was, when he penned this letter, within a few months of his death. His will bears the date of May 4th, 1647, and the date of his burial in the church at Long Ashton, a few rods from his residence called Ashton Phillips, is the 14th. His eldest son, John Gorges, inherited his Province of Maine, and at his death in 1656 bequeathed it to his son Ferdinando. Its remaining history may be briefly stated. The conflict for government continued between the representatives of the Gorges and Rigby interests, when Massachusetts practically settled the question at issue by running its northern boundary in accordance with a strict construction of its charter, which gave it a considerable portion of the Province of Maine. To make her tenure wholly secure, Massachusetts purchased of Ferdinando Gorges, the grandson of Sir Ferdinando, in 1677, his title to the Province, by which it passed forever from the possession of his descendants.

The



**The Church at Long Ashton,
Where Sir Ferdinando Gorges was buried.**

Abriefe Relation
OF THE
DISCOVERY
AND PLANTATION
OF
NEVV ENGLAND:

AND
OF SVNDRY ACCIDENTS
THEREIN OCCVRRING, FROM
the yeere of our Lord M. DC. vii. to this
present M. D.C. xxii.

Together with the state thereof as now it standeth
the generall forme of gouernment intended; and the
diuision of the whole Territorie into Coun-
ties, Baronries, &c.



LONDON,
Printed by *John Haviland*, and are to be
sold by WILLIAM BLADEN,
M.DC.XXII.

NOTE. — This Book was entered in the Stationers' Register, July 15th, 1622, under the title of *A Briefe Relation of the Discoverie of New England*; and opposite the entry appear the names of Mistris Griffith, probably the wife of George Griffith an associate adventurer with Sir Ferdinando Gorges, and of John Haviland. The numbers in the margin give the pagination of the original editions, both of the *Relation* and the *Narration*.



TO
THE PRINCE
His Highnesse.

SIR,



S you are the height of our hopes and blessednesse, next after your royall Father our Lord and Soueraigne: So, next vnto his Maiesty, are wee bound to dedicate our best endeours to your Princely seruice. And for the Subiect of this relation, as your Highnesse hath beene pleased to doe it the honour, by giuing it the Name of New England; and by your Highnesse most fauourable encouragement, to continue the same in life and being: So ought we to render an accompt of our proceedings, from the root thereof vnto the present growth it hath: which summarily is here done. If it shall appeare naked (as in truth it is) wee beseech your Highnesse to receiue it so much the rather for the truths sake, and with your bounty and grace to shelter it from the storms & tempests of malice and enuy, by which it hath been heretofore

tofore dispoyled of that goodly Ornament it might haue had by this time.

[5] It is now almost able to comfort itselfe, and there is no question but by the light of your countenance, it will speedily grow, both to serue his Maiefty with honour and profit, and multiply the same seruice to your Highnesse in time to come, as a tribute due for the grace it receiues, by the blessings of a long peace and prosperity that our Nation enioyes vnder the Raigne of his sacred Maiestie, through which we haue the easier passage to aduance the Crosse of Christ in Heathen parts, and to display his banner in the head of his Armie against infernall spirits, which haue so long kept those poore distresed creatures (the inhabitants of those parts) in bondage, whose posterity will foreuer

[6] blesse the time, that the issue of your royall Ancestors, sprung from so Emperiall branches, should be the meanes to vnite the diuided Crownes in one, whereby the generous Spirits of both Nations, may haue the fairer opportunity to procure their liberties. If your Highnesse accept of what is past, we will hope of happinesse to ensue; and howfoeuer, pray that all encrease of honour in this world, and all heauenly blessings in the world to come, may light vpon your Highnesse; as best becomes those that are

Your HIGHNESSE

humble seruants,

The President and Councill for the
affaires of NEVV-ENGLAND.



[7]

A briefe

RELATION
OF THE DISCOVERY
AND PLANTATION
of New England.



Lthough it bee a course, farre from the minde of vs, that are vndertakers for the aduancement of the Plantation of *New England*, to seeke by any vaine ostentation to extoll our owne endeouours: yet we cannot but strue to vindicate our reputation from the iniurious aspersions that haue beene laid vpon it, by the malicious practises of some that would aduenture nothing in the beginning, but would now reape the benefit of our paines and charges, and yet not seeme beholding to vs; and to that end they disuallow what is past, and by sinister informations derogate what they can from the present course intended: the rather because the good Orders appointed to bee put in execution there, are likely to restrain the licentious irregularitie of other places.

And

And this hath induced vs to publiſh our proceedings, whereunto it hath pleaſed God to giue a bleſſing: as to [8] any of indifferent iudgement may appeare by that which followeth.

When this deſigne was firſt attempted, ſome of the preſent company were therein chiefly intereſſed; who being carefull to haue the ſame accompliſhed, did ſend to the diſcouery of thoſe Northerne parts a braue Gentleman, Captaine *Henry Challons*, with two of the Natiues of that Territory, the one called *Maneday*, the other *Aſſacomet*.²⁶⁵ But his miſfortunes did expoſe him to the power of certaine Strangers, enemies to his proceedings, ſo that by them, his company were ſeized, the ſhips and goods conſiſcated, and that Voyage wholly ouerthrowne.

This loſſe, & vnfortunate beginning, did much abate the riſing courage of the firſt Aduenturers; but immediately vpon his departure, it pleaſed the noble *Lord chiefe Juſtice*, Sir *Iohn Popham knight*, to ſend out another ſhip, wherein Captain *Thomas Haman* went Commander, & *Martine Prinne*,

²⁶⁵ Theſe were two of the five natives captured by Captain George Waymouth in 1605, and were called by Roſier, in his account of Waymouth's voyage, Maneddo and Saſſacomoit. The latter finally found his way back to England, and in 1614, after an abſence from his people of nine years, accompanied Captain Hobſon to New England. The three Indians who accompanied Hobſon are called by Sir Ferdinando, in his *Briefe Narration*, Epenow, Wenape and Aſſacomet; but in this *Relation* he ſpeaks of but two, whom he calls Manawet and Epenow. As the *Relation* was written ſo near the time of the events ſpoken of, it is more

likely to be correct, and it is moreover proper to infer that Aſſacomet and Manawet are identical. We are impelled to this concluſion by the conſideration of the incident of Aſſacomet's capture by the Spaniſh and return to England, which would make it difficult for Sir Ferdinando to conſound him with another, and alſo from the fact that he was aſſociated, as Gorges tells us in the *Narration*, with Epenow, whom we know accompanied Hobſon. If we are right in this, Aſſacomet returned home after his long-enforced abſence, only to find ſpeedily a laſt reſting-place on his native ſhores. Challons failed Auguſt 12th, 1606.

*Prinne*²⁶⁶ of *Brislow* Master, with all necessarie supplies, for the seconding of Captaine *Challons* and his people; who arriuing at the place appointed, and not finding that Captaine there, after they had made some discouery, and found the Coasts, Hauens, and Harbors answerable to our desires, they returned. Vpon whose relation the *Lord Chiefe Iustice*, and wee all waxed so confident of the businesse, that the yeere following euerie man of any worth, formerly interessed in it, was willing to ioine in the charge for the sending ouer a competent number of people to lay the ground of a hopefull plantation.

Here upon Captaine *Popham*, Captaine *Rawley Gilbert*, and others were sent away with two Ships, and an hundred Landmen,

²⁶⁶ Of Captain Thomas Haman, Hamon, or Hannam, as he is variously called, only a few unimportant memorials survive, and he soon after this period passes from sight; but not so of his companion Martin Pring. He, after many prolonged and perilous voyages, finally reached his native town of Bristol in safety, and peacefully died in his boyhood's home. The stranger who wanders into the old church of St. Stevens is still shown his monument, bearing the following quaint inscription:—

TO THE PIOUS
MEMORIE OF MARTINE PRINGE
MERCHAUNT, SOMETYME GENERALL TO THE
EAST INDIES, AND ONE OF YE
FRATERNITIE OF THE
TRINITIE HOUSE.

The living worth of this dead man was such,
That this fayr Touch can giue you but A
Touch

Of his admir'd guifts; Theife quarter'd Arts
Enrich'd his knowledge and ye spheare im-
parts;

His heart's true Embleme where pure
thoughts did moue,

By A most sacred Influence from aboue,
Prudence and Fortitude are topp this
toombe.

Which in braue PRINGE tooke vpp ye
chieftest roome;

Hope — Time supporters shoue that hee did
clyme

The highest pitch of hope though not of
Tyme.

His painefull, skillfull trauales reach't as
farre,

As from the Artick to th' Antarctick starre,
Hee made himselfe A Shipp. Religion

His onely compaſs, and the truth alone
His guiding Cynosure. faith was his sailles

His anchour hope, A hope that neuer fayles;
His freight was charitie, and his returne

A fruitfull practice. In this fatall vine
His shipp's fayr Bulck is lodg'd but ye

ritch ladinge
Is bouf'd in heauen, A haueu neuer fadinge.

Hic terris multum iactatus et vndis.

Obit Anno { Salutis { 1626
 { Etatis { 46.

Vide Letters of Sir Ferdinando
Gorges to Secretary Cecil, May 10th,
February 4th with enclosure, and March
13th, 1606, Hatfield House, *et postea*.

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Landmen,²⁵⁷ Ordnance, and other prouisions necessarīe for their sustentation and defence; vntill other supply might [9] bee sent. In the meane while, before they could returne, it pleased God to take from vs this worthy member, the *Lord Chiefe Iustice*, whose sudden death did so astonish the hearts of the most part of the Aduenturers, as some grew cold, and some did wholly abandon the businesse. Yet Sir *Francis Popham* his sonne, certaine of his priuate friends, and other of vs, omitted not the next yeare (holding on our first resolution) to ioine in sending forth a new supply, which was accordingly performed.

But the Ships arriuing there, did not only bring vncomfortable newes of the death of the *Lord Chiefe Iustice*, together with the death of Sir *Iohn Gilbert*, the elder brother vnto Captaine *Rawley Gilbert*, who at that time was President of that *Councell*: But found that the old Captaine *Popham* was also dead; who was the onely man (indeed) that died there that Winter,²⁵⁸ wherein they indured the greater extremities; for that, in the depth thereof, their lodgings and stores were burnt, and they thereby wondrously distressed.

This calamitie and euill newes, together with the resolution

²⁵⁷ Cf. Strachey's account, which says: "Howbeyt the aforesaid late Lord Chief Justice would not for all this hard hanfell and Spanish mischief, give over his determinacion for planting of a colony within the aforesaid so goodly a country, upon the river of Sachadehoc; but against the next yeare prepared a greater number of planters, and better provisions, which in two shippes he sent thither; a fly boat, called the *Gift of God*, wherein a kinsman of his, George Popham commaunded; and a good

ship, called the *Mary and John*, of London, wherein Raleigh Gilbert commaunded; which, with one hundred and twenty persons for planters, brake ground from Plymouth in June, 1607." *Vide The Historie of Travaile into Virginia Britannia*, by William Strachey, Gent., London, 1849, pp. 163 *et seq.*

²⁵⁸ There was one other death, Master Pattison having been killed by the Indians. *Vide Purchas his Pilgrimes*, Vol. V. p. 830.

tion that Captaine *Gilbert* was forced to take for his owne returne, (in that hee was to succeed his brother, in the inheritance of his lands in *England*) made the whole company to resolute vpon nothing but their returne with the Ships; and for that present to leaue the Countrey againe, hauing in the time of their abode there (notwithstanding the coldnesse of the season, and the small helpe they had) built a prettie Barke of their owne, which serued them to good purpose, as easing them in their returning.²⁰⁰

The arriual of these people heere in *England*, was a wonderfull discouragement to all the first vndertakers, [10] in so much as there was no more speech of setting any other plantation in those parts for a long time after: only Sir *Francis Popham* hauing the Ships and prouision, which remained of the company, and supplying what was necessary for his purpose, sent diuers times to the coasts for trade and fishing; of whose losse or gaines himselfe is best able to giue account.

Our people abandoning the plantation in this sort as you haue heard; the *Frenchmen* immediately tooke the opportunitie to settle themselues within our limits; which being heard of by those of *Virginia*, that discretely tooke to their consideration the inconueniences that might arise, by suffering them to harbour there, they dispatched Sir *Samuel Argall*, with commission to displace them, which hee performed with much discretion, iudgement, valour, and dexterity.²⁰¹ For hauing seized their Forts, which they had built

²⁰⁰ Vide Letters of Sir Ferdinando Gorges to Secretary Cecil, December 1st and 3d, February 7th, and March 20th, 1607, Hatfield House, *at postea*.

²⁰¹ Sir Samuel Argall was a bold and unscrupulous man, intolerant of opposition and persistent in enforcing obedience to his authority. From the day

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built at Mount *Manfell*,²⁶¹ *Saint Croix*, and *Port Reall*, he carried away their Ordnance; hee also surprised their Ship, Cattle, and other prouisions, which hee transported to the Collonie in *Virginia*, to their great benefit. And hereby he hath made a way for the present hopefull plantation to bee made in *Noua-Scotia*, which we heare his Maiestie hath lately granted to Sir *William Alexander* Knight, one of his Maiesties most honourable²⁶² Councill of the Kingdome of *Scotland*, to bee held of the said Crowne, and that not without some of our priuities, as by approbation vnder writing may and doth appeare. Whereby it is manifest that wee are so farre from making a Monopoly of all those lands belonging to that coast (as hath beene scandalously by some obiected) *That we wish that many would undertake the like.*

In

day of his arrival in Virginia in 1609 to the day of his disgraceful departure from the colony in 1619, he was ever active to advance his private interests and to make his power felt by those about him. One of his arbitrary acts was to court-martial Edward Brewster, and banish him from the colony; an act which was subsequently declared illegal by the Court. In 1613 he abducted Pocahontas, and forced Powhatan to release the English held captive by him, as well as to return the property he had taken from the colonists; an exploit which properly gained him considerable popularity and was of real service to the Colony. His attack upon the French, here described, has been pronounced by one of our best historians "utterly unauthorized;" but it would not seem upon just grounds, since the Virginia charter conferred the power upon the colonies to "encounter, expulse, repel, and resist, as well by Sea as by Land, by all Ways and Means whatsoever, all and every

such Person and Persons, as without the especial Licence of the said several Colonies and Plantations, shall attempt to inhabit within the said several Precincts and Limits of the said several Colonies." Sir Ferdinando is therefore justified in commending Argall for expelling the French trespassers upon the English domain.

²⁶¹ This was the English name of Mount Defert, and was bestowed upon it in honor of Sir Robert Mansell, a member of the Virginia Company; but the more appropriate name bestowed upon it by Champlain has clung to it in spite of the efforts of the early English colonists to supplant it by another title. An attempt has recently been made to perpetuate the English name by affixing it to one of the mountains upon the island.

²⁶² *Vide Sir William Alexander and American Colonization*, Prince Society, edited by the Rev. Edmund F. Slafter, A.M., Boston, 1873.

In this Interim there were of vs who apprehended better hopes of good that might ensue by this attempt, being [11] thereunto perswaded, both by the relations of our people that had indured the many difficulties whereunto such actions are subiected chiefly in the Winter season; and likewise by the informations giuen them by certaine of the Natiues, that had beene kept a long time in their hands; wherefore we resolued once more to trie the veritie thereof, and to see if possibly we might finde something that might induce a fresh resolution to prosecute a worke so pious and so honourable. And thereupon they dispatched Captaine Hobson, of the Ile of *Wight*, together with Captaine *Herley*, Master *Iohn Matthew*, Master *Sturton*,²²³ with two Saluages, the one called *Epenow*, the other *Manawet*, with commision and directions fit for them to obserue and follow, the better to bring to passe what was expected. But as in all humane affaires, there is nothing more certaine, then the vncertaintie thereof; so fell it out in this; for a little before such time as they arriued vpon the coast with the foresaid Sauages, who were Naturalls of those parts, it happened there had beene one *Hunt* (a worthlesse fellow of our Nation) set out by certaine Merchants for loue of gaine; who (not content with the commoditie he had by the fish, and peaceable trade he found among the Sauages) after hee had made his dispatch, and was ready to set sayle, (more sauage-like then they) seized vpon the poore innocent creatures, that in confidence of his honestie had put themselues into his hands. And stowing them vnder hatches, to the number of
twenty

²²³ Cf. the account of this voyage in the twelfth chapter of the *Briefe Narration*.

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twenty foure, carried them into the Straights, where hee fought to sell them for slaues, and sold as many as he could get money for. But when it was vnderstood from whence they were brought, the Friers of those parts tooke the rest from them, and kept them to be instructed in the Christian Faith; and so disappointed this vnworthy fellow of the hopes of gaine he conceiued to make by this new & diuelliſh proiect.²⁰⁴

This being knowne by our two Saluages, formerly [12] spoken of, they presently contracted ſuch an hatred againſt our whole Nation, as they immediatly ſtudied how to be reuenged; and contriued with their friends the beſt meanes to bring it to paſſ; but *Manawet* dying in a ſhort time after the Ships arriuall there, and the other obſeruing the good order, and ſtrong guard our people kept, ſtudied only how to free himſelfe out of our hands, and thereupon laid the plot very orderly, and indeed effected his purpoſe, although with ſo great hazard to himſelfe and friends, that laboured his reſcue, that Captaine *Hobſon* and his whole company imagined he had beene ſlaine. And though in the recouery of his body they wounded the Maſter of our Ship, and diuers other of our company, yet was not their deſigne without the ſlaughter of ſome of their people, and the hurts of other, compaſſed, as appeared afterward.

Hereupon Captaine *Hobſon* and his companie conceiuing the

²⁰⁴ Smith ſays that Hunt “betrayed twenty ſeauen of thoſe poore innocent ſoules, which he ſould in *Spaine* for ſlaues, to mooue their hate againſt our Nation, as well as to cauſe my proceedings to be ſo much the more difficult.” *Vide A Deſcription of New England*, by Captain John Smith, Boſton, 1865. pp. 65 *et ſeq.*

the end of their attempt to bee frustrate, resolued without more adoe to returne, and so those hopes, that charge and voyage was lost also, for they brought home nothing but the newes of their euill successe, of the vnfortunate cause thereof, and of a warre now new begunne betweene the inhabitants of those parts, and vs. A miserable comfort for so weake meanes as were now left, to pursue the conclusion of so tedious an enterprife.

While this was a working, wee found the meanes to send out Captaine *John Smith* from Plymouth, in a ship, together with Master *Darmer* and diuers others with him, to lay the foundation of a new Plantation, and to try the fishing of that Coast, and to seeke to settle a trade with the Natiues:

But such was his misfortune, as being scarce free of our [13] owne Coast, he had his masts shaken ouerboard by stormes and tempests, his ship wonderfully distressed, and in that extremity forced to come backe againe; so as the season of the yeere being almost spent, we were of necessitie enforced to furnish him with another ship, and taking out the prouision of the first, dispatched him away againe, who comming to the height of the Westernne Islands, was chased by a French Pirate, and by him made prisoner, although his ship in the night escaped away, and returned home with the losse of much of her prouision, and the overthrow of that voyage, to the ruine of that poore Gentleman Captaine *Smith* who was detained prisoner by them, and forced to suffer many extremities, before hee got free of his troubles.²⁰⁰

Notwithstanding

²⁰⁰ *Vide* Smith's account of these transactions, in *A Description of New England*, Boston, 1865, pp. 67-80.

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Notwithstanding these disasters, it pleased God so to worke for our encouragement againe, as hee sent into our hands *Tasquantum*, one of those Saluages that formerly had beene betrayed by this vnworthy Hunt before named, by whose meanes there was hope conceiued to worke a peace betweene vs, and his friends, they being the principall inhabitants of that coast, where the fire was kindled. But this Saluage *Tasquantum*, being at that time in the New-found land with Captain *Mason*, Gouvernour there for the vndertakers of that Plantation: Master *Darmer* (who was there also, and sometimes before imployed as we haue said by vs, together with Captaine *John Smith*) found the meanes to giue vs intelligence of him, and his opinion of the good vse that might be made of his imployment, with the readinesse of Captaine *Mason*,²⁰⁰ to further any of our attempts that way, either with boats or other prouision necessary, and resoluing himselfe to goe from thence, aduised vs to send some to meet with him, at our vsuall place of fishing, to aid him in his indeuour, that they ioyning together, might [14] be able to doe what he hoped would be verie acceptable vnto all well wisers of that businesse.

Vpon this newes, we dispatched the next season Captaine *Rocraft*, with a Company for that purpose, in hope to haue met with Captaine *Darmer*; but the care and discretion of Captaine *Mason* was such, finding Captaine *Darmers* resolution to goe beyond his meanes, that hee perswaded him first to goe for England, that prouiding himselfe there, as was requisite,

²⁰⁰ This appears to have been the forerunner of that warm friendship and close association which was subsequently formed between Captain John Mason and Sir Ferdinando Gorges, which lasted until the former's death.

requisite, he might proceed in time expedient, which counsell he obserued (as fit it was) although our expectation of his ioyning with Captaine *Rocraft* was thereby disappointed. Yet so it happened, that Captaine *Rocraft* at his arriual in those parts, met with a French Barke that lay in a Creeke a fishing, and trading, which he seized on, and sent home the Master and Company in the same Ship which he went out in.

With this Barke and his owne Company, hee meant to keepe the Coast that Winter quarter, being very well fitted both with salt, and other necessaries for his turne: but as this was an Act of extremity (the poore man being of our owne Religion) so succeeded it accordingly. For in a short time after, certaine of this Captaines company, conspired together to cut his throat, and to make themselves masters of the whole spoile, and so to seeke a new fortune where they could best make it. This conspiracie being discovered to the Captaine, hee let it goe on, till the time that it should haue beene put in execution, when hee caught them in there owne traine, and so apprehended them in the very instant that they were purposed to beginne their massacre.

But after he had preuented the mischief, and seized vpon the malefactors, hee tooke to his consideration what [15] was best to be done with them. And beeing loth by himselfe to dispatch them as they deserued, he resolved to put them ashore, thinking by their hazard that it was possible they might discover something, that might aduance the publike; and so giuing them some Armes for their defense, and some victuall for their sustentation, vntill they knew better how to prouide for themselves, he left them at

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a place called *Sawaguatoock*,²⁶⁷ where they remained not long, but got from thence to *Menehighon*,²⁶⁸ an Island lying some three leagues in the Sea, and fiftene leagues from that place, where they remained all that Winter, with bad lodging, and worse fare, yet came all safe home save one sickly man, which dyed there, the rest returned with the Ship we sent for *Rocrafts* supply and provision, to make a fishing voyage.

After these fellows were landed, the Captaine finding himself but weakely man'd, and his Ship to draw too much water to coast those places, that by his instructions he was assigned to discover, hee resolved to goe for *Virginia* where he had liued a long time before, and had (as hee conceiued) many friends, that would helpe him with some things that he had occasion to vse. Arriuing there, he was not deceiued of his expectation; for Sir *Samuel Argall* being their Gouvernour, and one that respected him much for his owne sake, was the readier to helpe him, in regard of the good hee wished to the businesse wherein he was employed.

But all this could not preuaile, for after that Sir *Samuel Argall* came from thence (his departure being more suddaine then was expected) it fell out that the new Gouvernour entered the Harbour; and finding *Rocraft* ready to bee gone, sent to him to command him to come aboard to speake with him, which he readily obeyed, as soone as he could fit his boat

²⁶⁷ Now known as Saco. It is curious to note how differently Indian words were represented by those hearing them. Thus the English, in the case before us, tried to produce the sound of the Indian name of this place by the strange

combination of letters here displayed, namely, *Sawaguatoock*; while the French gave it a very different form, namely, *Chouacoet*.

²⁶⁸ The island of Monhegan.

boat and men for that purpose.²⁶⁹ And so leauing his Barke with her great Anker a head, and taking with him the [16] halfe of his company, hee was forced to stay aboard the new Gouvernours Ship that night. In the meane while a storme arising, our Barke wanting hands to doe their labour, droue a shoare, and there sunke. But yet the Gouvernour and Captaine so laboured the next day, when they knew thereof, as that they freed her againe, but that occasion forced our Captaine to stay so long in the Countrey to fit himselfe anew, as in the interim a quarrell fell out betweene him and another of that place; so as *Rocraft* was slaine, and the Barque sunke the second time, and finally disabled from yeelding vs any benefit to this present.

But we not knowing this disaster, and Captaine *Darmer* arriuing with his Saluage,²⁷⁰ out of New-found-land, dispatched him away the next season, in a shippe we sent againe for the fishing businesse, and assigned him a company to ioyne with *Rocraft* and his people.

Captaine *Darmer* arriuing there, and not finding *Rocraft*, was a little perplexed, and in doubt what to doe: yet hearing by those Mutiners which he found there, that he was gone for *Virginia*; he was hopefull of his returne; and liued in that expectation, till such time as he heard (by a ship that

²⁶⁹ This was Sir George Yeardley, who was appointed governor of Virginia in October, 1618, and was knighted on November 22d. He sailed for Virginia on the 19th of January, but owing to storms did not reach Jamestown until April 19th, 1619. On his arrival he found that Argall had fled from justice some time before, and was al-

ready on his way to England. Sir Ferdinando puts the matter very mildly when he speaks of Argall's departure as "being more suddaine then was expected."

²⁷⁰ Tisquantum, who had escaped from Spain by an English vessel bound for Newfoundland, as before related.

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that came from thence to fish for the Collony) the confusion of his fortune, and the end of his misery in this world. Then he determined to take the Pinnace that the yeare before was assigned to *Rocraft* for him to make the trade with, and with her to proceed on his designe, and so embarked himselfe, and his prouision and company in her. And leauing the fisher-men to their labour, he coasted the shore from thence, searching euery Harbour, and compassing euery Cape-land, till he arriued in *Virginia*; where he was in hope to meet with some of the prouision, or company [17] of *Rocraft*, to helpe to supply him of what he wanted; as also to lay a Deck vpon his Pinnace, that before had not any, and now was taught by experience the necessitie of hauing that defect supplied.

But those hopes failed him (al being before that time ruined and disperfed) so farre, as he saw it in vaine to hope for help by that means, and therefore attempted to make the best of what hee had of his owne. And going to set his men aworke, they all in a few dayes after their arriual, fell sicke of a disease which hapned at that time in the country, so as now he was not onely forced to be without hope of their helping of him, but must labour himselfe all he could to attend and sustaine them; but so God fauoured him, that they recouered, and in time conuenient he dispatched his businesse there, and put himselfe to Sea againe, resolving to accomplish in his iourney backe to *New-England*, what in his last Discouery he had omitted.

In his passage he met with certaine *Hollanders*, who had a trade in *Hudsons* riuer some yeares before that time, with whom he had conference about the state of that coast, and their

their proceedings with those people: whose answer gaue him good content. He betooke himselfe to the following of his businesse, discouering many goodly Riuers, and exceeding pleasant, and fruitfull coasts and Islands, for the space of 80 leagues from East to West, for so that coast doth range along from *Hudsons* Riuer to Cape *James*.²⁷¹

Now after we had found by Captaine *Rocrafts* relation made the year before, the hopes he conceiued of the benefits that coast would afford, towards the vpholding of the charge for settling our Plantation by reason of the commodities arising by fishing and furies, if a course might be taken for the manning of that businesse, as was fit for such a designe; as well as for the aduancement of the publike [18] good of our whole nation and satisfaction of euery well disposed person, that had a will to be interessed therein.

It was held to be most conuenient to strengthen ourselues by a new Grant to be obtained from his royall Maiestie: the rather, finding that those of *Virginia* had by two seuerall Patents settled their bounds,²⁷² and excluded all from intermedling with them that were not free of their Company;

²⁷¹ This is Cape Cod, and is one of many instances illustrating the tenacity with which names when once applied to places cling to them, especially if local reasons exist for such application. Cape Cod was so named in 1602 by Gofnold, on account of the abundance of cod-fish which he found in its vicinity; but Prince Charles, thinking it would be more appropriate to name it in honor of his royal father, bestowed upon it the name of Cape James, and it was so designated on the first map of

the coast made by Smith in 1614. This name was adopted by Gorges and other royalists; but in spite of these efforts to change the name lightly but appropriately given it by the old mariner, it held its place against a royal one bestowed upon it by a prince and inscribed upon the most noted chart of the coast then extant.

²⁷² Vide *Historical Collections*, by Ebenezer Hazard, A.M., Philadelphia, 1792. Vol. I. pp. 50-82. Virginia had had three charters at this time.

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pany; and had wholly altered the forme of their Gouvernement, from the first ground layed for the managing the affaires of both Collonies, leauing vs as desperate, and our businesse as abandoned.

These considerations (as is said) together with the necessitie of settling our affaires, bounds and limits, distinct from theirs, made vs resolute to petition his Maiestie for the renewing of our Grant.²⁷³

By which time the rumour of our hopes was so publicquely spread abroad, and the commodities of the Fish and trade so looked into, as it was desired, that all that coast might be made free, as well to those of *Virginia*, as to vs to make their commoditie: How iust or vniust that motion was, we will not argue, seeing the businesse is ended.

By this meanes, our proceedings were interrupted, and we questioned about it; first, by the Counsell of *Virginia*, whom we thought to haue bene fully satisfied therein, before we could haue way giuen vs for a new Patent, both parties hauing been heard by certaine of the Lords of the Councell; and the businesse by them so ordered, as we were directed to proceed and to haue our Grant agreeable to the libertie of the *Virginia* Company, the frame of our government excepted; but this order not being liked of, it was againe heard & concluded.²⁷⁴ Lastly, the Patent being past the Scale, it was stopt vpon new suggestions to the *King*, and by his Maiestie referred to the Councell to be settled

²⁷³ Vide Colonial Papers, James I., Company, vide *The History of the Virginia Company of London*, by Edward

²⁷⁴ For the account of these transactions from the side of the Virginia D. Neill, Albany, 1869, pp. 131, 133, 165, 175.

[19] settled, by whom the former Orders were confirmed, the difference cleared, and we ordered to haue our Patent delivered vs.²⁷⁵

These disputes held vs almost two yeeres, so as all men were afraid to ioyne with vs, and we thereby left hopelesse of any thing more than that which our owne fortunes would yeeld to aduance our proceedings, in which time so many accidents hapned vnto vs at home, and abroad, that wee were faine to giue order by the ships we sent afishing, for the retiring of Master *Darmer*, and his people, vntil all things were cleared, and we better prouided of meanes to goe through with our designe: but this worthy Gentleman confident of the good likely to ensue, and resolutely resolu- ing to pursue the ends he aymed at, could not be perswaded to looke backe, as yet; and so refusing to accept our offer, began againe to prosecute his Discouery, wherein he was betrayed by certaine new Saluages, who sodainly set vpon him, giuing him foureteene or fiteene wounds; but by his valour, and dexteritie of spirit he freed himselfe out of their hands, yet was constrained to retire into *Virginia* again the second time, for the cure of his wounds, where he fell sicke of the infirmities of that place, and thereof dyed:²⁷⁶ so ended this worthie Gentleman his dayes, after he had re- mained

²⁷⁵ For the Order of Council and Patent issued to Gorges and others November 3d, 1620, *vide Historical Collections*, by Ebenezer Hazard, A.M., Philadelphia, 1792, Vol. I. p. 99; *Ibid.*, pp. 103-118.

²⁷⁶ The following letter of Dermer gives his own account of his adventures, and is interesting in this connection:—

To his Worshipfull Friend M. SAMUEL PURCHAS, Preacher of the Word, at the Church a little within Ludgate, London.

SIR,—It was the nineteenth of May, before I was fitted for my discouery, when from Monahiggan I set sayle in an open Pinnace of five tun, for the Iland I told you of. I passed alongst the Coast where I found some antient Plantations, not long since populous now vtterly void; in other places

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mained in the discouery of that coast two yeares, giuing vs
good content in all hee vndertooke; and after he had made
the

places a remnant remains, but not free of sicknesse. Their disease the Plague, for wee might perceiue the fores of some that had escaped, who described the spots of such as vsually die. When I arriued at my sauages native country (finding all dead) I travelled alongst adaies journey Westward, to a place called Nummattaquyt, where finding Inhabitants, I dispatched a Messenger a dayes journey further West to Poconackit which bordereth on the sea; whence came to see me two Kings, attended with a guard of fiftie armed men, who being well satisfied with that my Sauage and I discourfed vnto them (being desirous of noueltie) gaue mee content in whatsoever I demanded, where I found that former relations were true. Here I redeemed a Frenchman, and afterwards another at Mastachusit who three yeeres since escaped shipwracke at the North-east of Cape Cod, I must (amongst many things worthy obseruation) for want of leisure, therefore hence I passe (not mentioning any place where we touched in the way) to the Iland, which we discovered the twelfth of June. Here we had good quarter with the Sauages, who likewise confirmed former reports. I found seuen severall places digged, sent home of the earth, with samples of other commodities elswhere found, founded the Coast, and the time being farre spent bare vp for Monahiggan, arriuing the three and [tween]tieth of June, where wee found our Ship ready to depart. To this Ile are two other neere adjoyning, all which I called by the name of King James his Iles, because from thence I had the first motiues to search, For that (now probable passage) which may hereafter be both honourable and profitable to his Majestie.

When I had dispatched with the ships ready to depart, I thus concluded for the accomplishing my businesse, In regard of the fewnesse of my men, not being able to leaue behind mee a competent number for defence, and yet sufficiently furnish my selfe, I put most of my provisions aboard the *Samson* of Cape Ward ready bound for

Virginia, from whence hee came, taking no more into the Pinnace then I thought might serue our turnes, determining with Gods helpe to search the Coast along, and at Virginia to supply ourselues for a second discouery, if the first failed. But as the best actions are commonly hardest in effecting and are seldome without their crosses, so in this we had our share, and met with many difficulties: for wee had not sayled aboue forty leagues, but wee were taken with a Southerly storme, which drave vs to this strait; eyther we must weather a rockie point of Land, or run into a broad Bay no lesse dangerous. Incidit in Syllam, &c. the Rockes wee could not weather, though wee loosed till we receiued much water, but at last were forced to beare up for the Bay, and run on ground a furlong off the shoare, where we had bene beaten to pieces, had wee not instantly throwne overboard our provisions to haue our liues; by which meanes we escaped and brought off our Pinnace the next high water without hurt, hauing our Planke broken, and a small leake or two which we easily mended. Being left in this misery, hauing lost much bread, all our Beefe and Sider, some Meale and Apparell, with other provisions and necessities; hauing now little left besides hope to encourage vs to persist; Yet after a little deliberation we resolved to proceed and departed with the next faire winde. We had not now that faire quarter amongst the Sauages as before, which I take it was by reason of our Sauages absence, who desired (in regard of our long journey) to stay with some of our Sauage friends Sawahqua-tooke for now almost everywhere, where they were of any strength they fought to betray vs. At Manamock (the Southerne part of Cape Cod, now called Sutcliffe Inlets) I was vnawares taken prisoner, when they fought to kill my men, which I left to man the Pinnace; but missing of their purpose, they demanded a rancome, which had, I was as farre from libertie as before: yet it pleased God at last, after a strange manner to deliuer me, with three
of

the peace between vs and the Saluages, that so much abhorred our Nation for the wrongs done them by others, as
you

of them into my hands, and a little after the chiefe Sachem himselfe; who seeing me weigh anchor, would have leaped over boord, but intercepted, craued pardon, and lent for the Hatchets giuen for ranfome, excusing himselfe by laying the fault on his neighbours; and to be friends sent for a Canoes lading of Corne, which receiued we let him free. I am loth to omit the story, wherein you would finde cause to admire the great mercy of God euen in our greatest misery, in giuing vs both freedome and reliefe at one time. Departing hence, the next place we arriued at was Capavek, an Iland formerly discovered by the English, where I met with Epinew, a Sauage that had liued in England, and speakes indifferent good English, who foure yeeres since being carried home, was reported to haue bene slaine, with diuers of his Countrey-men, by Saylers which was false. With him I had much conference, who gave mee very good satisfaction in euery thing almost I could demand. Time not permitting me to search here, which I should haue done for sundry things of special moment: the wind faire, I stood away shaping my course as the Coast led mee, till I came to the most Westerly part where the Coast began to fall away Southerly. In my way I discovered Land about thirtie leagues in length, heretofore taken for Mayne, where I feared I had bene imbayed, but by the help of an Indian I got to the Sea againe, through many crooked and streight passages. I let passe many accidents in this journey occasioned by treacherie, where wee were compelled twice to goe together by the eares, once the Sauages had great advantage of vs in a streight, not aboue a Bowe shot, and where a multitude of Indians let flye at vs from the banke, but it pleased God to make vs victours; neere vnto this wee found a most dangerous Catwrack amongst small rockie Ilands, occasioned by two vnequall tydes, the one ebbing and flowing two houres before the other; here wee lost an Anchor by the strength of the current, but found it deepe enough; from

hence wee were carried in a short space by the tydes swiftnesse into a great Bay (so vs so appearing) but indeede is broken land, which gaue vs light of the Sea: here, as I said, the Land treadeth Southerly. In this place I talked with many Saluages, who told me of two sundry passages to the great Sea on the West, offered me Pilots, and one of them drew mee a Plot with Chalke upon a Chest, whereby I found it a great Iland, parted the two Seas; they report the one scarce passable for shoalds, perillous currents, the other no question to be made of. Hauing receiued these directions, I hasten to the place of greatest hope, where I purposed to make triall of Gods goodnesse towards vs, and vse my best endeavour to bring the truth to light, but wee were but onely shewed the entrance, where in seeking to passe wee were forced backe with contrary and ouerblowing windes, hardly escaping both our liues. Being thus overcharged with weather, I stood alongst the coast to seeke harbours, to attend a fauourable gale to recouer the streight, but being a harbourlesse Coast for ought we could then perceiue, wee found no succour, till wee arriued betwixt Cape Charles and the Maine on the East side the Bay Chestapeak, where in a wilde Roade wee anchored: and the next day (the eight of September) crossed the Bay to Kecoughtan, where the first newes strooke cold to our hearts, the generall sicknesse ouer the Land. Here I resolued with all possible speede to returne in pursuite of this businesse; so that after a little refreshing, wee recouered up the River to James Citie, and from thence to Cape Warde his Plantacon, where immediately wee fell to hewing of Boords for a close Decke, hauing found it a most desired course to attempt as before. As wee were thus labouring to affect our purposes, it pleased almighty God (who only disposeth of the times and seasons, wherein all workes shall be accomplished) to visite vs with his heauie hand, so that at one time there were but two of vs able to helpe the rest, my selfe so sore shaken with

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you haue heard: but the fruit of his labour in that behalfe we as yet receiue to our great commoditie, who haue a peaceable plantation at this present among them, where our people both prosper, and liue in good liking, and assurednesse of their neighbours, that had beene formerly so much exasperated against vs, as will more at large appeare hereafter.

[20] But hauing passed all these stormes abroad, and vndergone so many home-bred oppositions, and freed our Patent, which we were by order of State assigned to renew, for the amendment of some defects therein contained, we were assured of this ground more boldly to proceed on than before; and therefore we tooke first to consideration how to raise the meanes to aduance the plantation. In the examination thereof, two wayes did offer themselues: The one was the voluntary contribution of the *Patentees*; The other, by an easie ransoming of the freedoms of those that had a will to partake onely of the present profits, arising by the trade, and fishing vpon the coast.

The first was to proceed from those Noble-men, and others that were Patentees, and they agreed by order among themselves

a burning feauer, that I was brought euen vnto deaths doore; but at length by Gods assistance escaped, and haue now with the rest almost recovered my former strength. The Winter hauing ouertaken vs (a time on these Coasts especially) subject to gulls and fearefull stormes, I haue now resolved to choose a more temperate season, both for generall good and our own safeties. And thus I haue sent you a broken discourse, though indeede very vnwilling to haue giuen any notice at all, till it had pleased God to haue blessed mee with a thorow search, that our eyes might haue witnessed the truth, I haue drawne a Plot of the Coast, which I dare not yet part with for

fear of danger, let this therefore serue for confirmation of your hopes, till I can better performe my promise and your desire; for what I haue spoken I can produce at least mille testes; farre separate, of the Sea behinde them, and of Ships, which come many dayes journey from the West, and of the great extent of this Sea to the North and South, not knowing any bounds thereof Westward. I cease to trouble you till a better opportunity offer it selfe remembering my best loue &c. I rest

Yours to command,

THO. DERMER.

From CAPTAINE MARTYN
his Plantation. 27 Decemb. 1619.

felues to disburſe a hundred pounds apeece, for the advancement of ſuch neceſſary buſines, as they had in hand.

The ſecond was to be accompliſhed by ſetting ſuch liberties and orders in the weſterne cities and townes, as might induce euery reaſonable man in, and about them, affecting the publike good, or a regular proceeding in the buſineſſe of trade, to embrace an vniformitie, and to ioyne in a communitie, or ioynte ſtocke together: How reaſonable or vnreaſonable thoſe orders were, is hereafter to be ſeene, and iudged by eury well affected perſon, or any truly louing the publike good of our Nation, whereunto is annexed the difference of trading by ioynte ſtocke vnder gouernment and order; and the promiſcuous trading without order and in a diſ-joynted manner, as of late they haue done to the infinite preiudice of others already, as alſo to the loſſe of many of themſelues, that contemptuouſly and greedily haue leapt into that courſe, as it were in deſpite of all Authoritie, whoſe reward, in time, will follow.

[21] Before theſe Orders were to be tendered to thoſe cities and townes, it was deſired that there might be letters ſent from their Lordſhips, admoniſhing them of his Maieſties royall Grant, that prohibiteth any not free of that buſines, to intermeddle within our limits, vpon paine of confiscation of ſhip and goods. Theſe letters expreſſing withall the good affection of thoſe that were intereſſed in the buſineſſe, to entertaine any that ſhould be willing to conforme themſelues to ſuch orders, as had in that behalfe bene eſta bliſhed.

But thoſe letters how full of iuſtice ſo euer they appeared, were as diſtaſtefull, as was the rumor of Order vnto them:
for

for by it euery particular man thought himfelfe strait debarred of libertie to run his owne currant, in which he thought his freedome did onely confist; and by debarring him thereof, his priuate ends were ouerthrowne, which was to endeauour to preuent his neighbour of the market he aimed at, or the Harbour he resolued to goe vnto, or the present trade hee expected to haue by his priuate industrie, but as for the publike hee cared not, let that fare as it would.²⁷⁷ While these things were in dispute, and likely to haue taken a good foundation, the news of the Parliament flew to all parts, & then the most factious of euery place, presently combined themselues to follow the businesse in Parliament, where they presumed to proue the same to be a Monopolie, and much tending to the preiudice of the common good. But that there should be a conformitie in trade, or a course taken to preuent the euills that were likely to ensue, or to appropriate possessions, or lands after a generous manner, in remote parts of the world, to certaine publike persons, of the common-wealth, for the taking care, and spending their time and means how to aduance the enlargement of their Countrey, the honour of their King, and [22] glory of their God; these were thought crimes worthy the taking notice of, and the principall Actors in this kinde, must be first traduced in priuate, then publicly called vpon in Parliament, to answer such other scandalls as could by malice be inuented.

But as this businesse was in itselfe iust, and righteous, so was it as earnestly desired, they might haue had the opportunitye

²⁷⁷ Various references to these troubles may be found in *The Records of the Council for New England*; also vide Proclamation of the King in Colonial Papers, James I., Public Records Office, Vol. II. No. 106.

portunitie to haue answered it before so vnpartiall Iudges, and so reuerend persons; if so it might haue been without offence to the authoritie of his royall Maiestie, that had extended itselfe by vertue of his Prerogatiue so farre off, and without the Lawes of this Realme, and to be put in execution without the publike expence, or charge of the common-wealth, or preiudice to any other former employments of our Nation, and indeed without offence to any that coueted not to put their sickle into the haruest of other men, or whose enuious & couetous humors stirred them not vp to shame themselues in the conclusion.

These troubles thus vnfortunately falling out, haue notwithstanding hindered vs from the hopes we had this yeare,²⁷⁸ to giue some life extraordinarily to those affaires, & therefore we are forced of necessitie to refer the maine of our resolution, till a more conuenient opportunitie, and till we haue gotten our ships and prouision fit to serue our turnes both to giue the Law along those coasts, and to performe such other seruice, as is thereby intended for the publike good of our Aduenturers, and defence of our Merchants, that shall frequent those places, according to such Orders, as shall be found behouefull in that behalfe.

The

²⁷⁸ The year 1622. This book must have been printed near the close of the year, as it speaks of events which occurred late in the autumn.

It was printed under the auspices of the Council, doubtless to attract attention to its enterprise, as in the Records of the Council under date of "Saturday last of May," it is stated that "the allowance of the printing of ye Booke is referred to the Earl of Arundell." The entry in

the Stationers' Register was made July 15, 1622, and the title as there set down is "A Briefe Relation of the Discoverie of New England." This is signed in the margin, Mistresse Griffith and John Haviland. Mistresse Griffith was probably the wife of George Griffith, a merchant of London, and at an early date interested in American colonization. He was subsequently a prominent member of the Laconia Company.



[23] *The Clime and condition of the
Country, and the present estate
of our affaires there.*



Ou haue heard already the many difasters, calamities, misfortunes, oppositions, and hinderances we haue had, and receiued. Howbeit many are omitted, in that we desire not to trouble the Reader with more then enough; or to affright the minds of weake spirits, that will beleeeue there is no better successe to be looked for from such attempts: although it be true that the best designes doe oftentimes cary with them the most impediments, whether it be that God will haue it so, to trie our constancie, or otherwise to make vs know, that it is he onely that worketh after his owne will, according to the time he hath assigned, and that there is nothing done but by him, as also that, that is onely best which hee will haue to bee done, and that time most proper which he hath assigned for the same.

But by these you may imagine (seeing we haue none other helps than our owne fortunes to build vpon) there can no great matters bee performed in these stormes and tempests. Notwithstanding, you may know wee haue not
beene

beene more hindered one way, than blessed an other: for, as our patience, constancie, trauels and charge hath been great, so hath it (indeed) manifoldly beene requited: For, by GODS fauour, and these Gentlemens industrie, we haue made a most ample discouery of the most commodious Country for the benefit of our Nation, that euer hath beene found.

For better satisfaction of the Reader in this behalfe, [24] we haue thought fit, by the way, to acquaint him first, with the nature of the place where wee haue settled our selues, whereby hee may see reason for what wee haue done, remembring him likewise, that in settling of plantations, there is principally to be considered; The *Aire*, for the health of the inhabitants; The *Soile*, for fertilitie fit for corne, and feeding of cattle wherewith to sustaine them; The *Sea*, for commoditie of trade and commerce, the better to enrich their publike and priuate *State*, as it shall grow to perfection; and to raise employments, to furnish the course of those affaires.

Now for the quality of the Aire, there is none of iugement but knowes it proceedeth either from the generall disposition of the Sphere, or from the particular constitution of the place.

Touching the disposition of the Sphere, it is not onely seated in the temperate Zone, but as it were in the Center, or middle part thereof, for that the middle part of the Countrey stands in the forty fourth and forty fifth degrees of Northerne Latitude, that is twenty degrees from the fiery Tropicke, and as much from the freezing Arcticke Circle: Vnder the same climate and course of the sunne that *Constantinople*,

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stantinople, and *Rome*, the Ladies of the World; *Italy*, and *France*, the Gardens of Europe, haue their situation, within the limits of the fifth and sixt Climate, after the latter computation; hauing their longest day fiteene houres and some odde minutes.

Touching the constitution of the place (which is about fifty degrees by Sea from our Continent westerly) The Marine parts thereof are somewhat colder, then the nature of the Clime otherwise affordeth; for that the beames of the

Sunne are weakened, partly by the vnstable reflection [25] of the same vpon the Sea, and partly by beeing laden with abundance of moisture it exhales out of the vast Ocean, whereby the nature thereof is not so violently there expressed, as in the like parallel further into the maine is accustomed. Nor is the Sea coast so subiect to droughts or want of raine in seasonable times, as other parts are of like Latitudes, and by that reason the sea coasts are at all times more cold than is the Inland. And the Easterne coast which receiueth the rising of the Sunne, is likewise colder then are the Westerne parts, towards the declining of the same; as our morning aires (for example) euen in the heat of Summer are cold and quicke, when the day and euening are very sweltering. And this makes those parts more suitable to the nature of our people, who neither finde content in the colder Climates, nor health in the hotter; but (as hearbs and plants) affect their native temperature, and prosper kindly no where else.

And indeed, the hot Countreys yeeld sharper wits, but weaker bodies, and fewer children; the colder, more flow of conceit, but stronger of body, and more abounding in pro-
creation

creation. So that, though the inuention of Arts hath risen from the Southerne Nations, yet they haue still beene subiect to the inundations, and inuasions of the more Northerly people, by reason of their multitudes, together with the strength of their body, and hardnesse of their constitutions.

But this Country, what by the generall and particular situation, is so temperate, as it seemeth to hold the golden meane, and indeed is most agreeable to the nature of our owne, which is made manifest by experience, the most infallible prooue of all assertions; in so much as our people that are settled there, enioy their life and health much more [26] happily, then in other places; which can bee imputed to no other cause, then the temperature of the Climate.

Now, as the Clime is found to bee so temperate, so delicate, and healthfull, both by reason and experience; such is the soile also, some parts thereof yeelding wonderfull increase, both of the Corne, the Natiues haue most vse of; as also of our owne, of all sorts: with infinite variety of nourishing roots, and other herbes, and fruits, common among them, but rare with vs.

Besides, the Coast doth abound with most conuenient Hauens, and Harbors, full of singular Islands, fit for Plantation; replenished with Plants and Wood of all sorts; as Oake, Cedars, Spruce, Firre, Pyne, Walnut, Chestnut, Elme, Sassafras, Plumtrees, and Calamus Aromaticus,^m &c.

The people are tractable (if they bee not abused) to commerce

^m By the *Calamus aromaticus* Sir Ferdinando means the sweet flag, then as now used as a stomachic in medicine, but which then had virtues ascribed to it which would not now be recognized.

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merce and Trade withall, and as yet haue good respect of vs. The Seas are stored with all kindes of excellent fish, and in many places vpon the coast, fit to make Salt in. The Country aboundeth with diuersity of wild foule, as Turkeys, Partriges, Swans, Cranes, wild Geese of two sorts, wilde Duckes of three sorts, many Doues, especially when Strawberies are ripe.

There are feuerall sorts of Deere in those parts, and some that bring forth two, three, and foure young at once, which is a manifest prooffe of the fertility of the Soile, or temper of the Clime, or both together.

There is also a certaine Beast, that the Natiues call a Mossie, he is as big bodied as an Oxe, headed like a fallow Deere, with a broad Palme, which hee mues²⁸⁰ euery yeere, as doth the Deere, and necke like a Red Deere, with a short mane, running down along the raines of his backe, his haire long like an Elke, but esteemed to be better then that [27] for Sadlers vse, he hath likewise a great bunch hanging downe vnder his throat, and is of the colour of our blacker sort of fallow Deere, his leggs are long, and his feet as bigge as the feet of our Oxen, his taile is longer then the fingle²⁸¹ of a Deere, and reacheth almost downe to his huxens,²⁸² his skinne maketh very good Buffe,²⁸³ and his flesh is excellent good food, which the Natiues vse to lerkin

²⁸⁰ This word is from the French *muer*, to moult, to change, and is still good French; as, *un cerf mue*. The word is used by Beaumont and Fletcher in the *Little French Lawyer* thus: "But I haue mew'd that coat."

²⁸¹ That is, the caudal appendage of the deer, in the *lingua* of Venery.

²⁸² *Hocks* or *ankles*; a term common in Devonshire.

²⁸³ The dressed skin of the buffalo or wild ox. Etymologists derive the name of the color known as buff from this skin, which is of a pale yellow tint when dressed.

Ierkin²⁸⁴ and keepe all the yeere to serue their turne, and so prooues very seruiceable for their vse. There haue beene many of them seene in a great Island vpon the Coast, called by our people *Mount Mansfell*, whither the Saluages goe at certaine seasons to hunt them; the manner whereof is, by making of seuerall fires, and setting the Countrey with people, to force them into the sea, to which they are naturally addiſted, and then there are others that attend them in their Botes with bowes and weapons of seuerall kindes, wherewith they slay and take at their pleasure. And there is hope that this kinde of Beasts may bee made seruiceable for ordinary labour with Art and Industry.

The knowne Commodities of that Country, are Fish of seuerall sorts, rich Furres, as Beuers, Otters, Martins, blacke Fox, Sables, &c. There are likewise plenty of Vines, of three kindes, and those pleasant to the taste, yet some better then other. There is Hempe, Flax, Silkgrasse, seuerall veines of Ironstone, commodities to make Pitch, Rosen, Tarre; Deale boords of all sorts, Sparres, Maſts, for Ships of all burdens; in a word, there comes no commodity out of *France, Germany*, or the *Sound*, but may be had there, with reasonable labour and industry.

Further, wee haue ſetled at this preſent, ſeuerall Plantations along the Coast, and haue granted Patents to [28] many more that are in preparation to bee gone with all conueniencie. Those of our people that are there, haue

²⁸⁴ This is beef cut into thin slices and dried in the sun to preserve it for future use. Prescott, the historian, in his *Conquest of Peru*, calls this dried flesh, in the language of the country, *charqui*, of which word our *jerked* is a strange corruption.

haue both health and plenty, so as they acknowledge there is no want of any thing, but of industrious people, to reape the commodities that are there to be had, and they are indeed so much affected to the place, as they are loth to be drawne from thence, although they were directed to returne to giue satisfaction to those that sent them, but chose rather to performe that office by letters, together with their excuse, for breach of their duty in that behalfe. And thus you see there is no labour well employed, but hath his reward at one time or other.

These encouragements haue imboldened vs to proceed, to the engaging of our selues, for the building of some Ships of good burden, and extraordinary Mould, to lie vpon the Coast for the defense of Merchants and Fishermen, that are employed there, as also to Waft the Fleets, as they goe to and from their Markets: and we purpose from henceforth to build our shipping there, where wee find all commodities fit for that seruice, together with the most opportune places that can bee desired.

Lastly, finding that wee haue so far forth preuailed, as to winde our selues into familiarity with the Natiues, (which are in no great number) along the Coast for two hundred Leagues together, wee haue now dispatched some of our people of purpose, to diue into the bowels of the Continent, there to search and finde out what Port, or Place, is most conuenient to settle our maine Plantation in, where wee meane to make the Residencie of our State and Gouvernement as also to bee assured, what other commodities may be raised for the publique, and priuate benefit of those that are dealers in that businesse, and willing to bee interested in
any

any the Lands there: Whither is gone this yeer already, for Trade and Fishing onely, thirty Saile of the [29] better sort of Ships, belonging to the Westerne parts, besides those who are gone for transportation of the Planters, or supply such as are already planted, whose return (as is supposed) will amount (at the least) to thirty thousand pound, the greater part whereof comes home in *Bullion*.

And therefore as touching the third happinesse of these parts, which is the *Sea*, there needeth no other or greater commendation then this benefit of *Fishing* assured vnto vs by common *Experience*; although it affords many other hopes both in regard of the facilitie of the nauigation, the boldnesse of the Coast, the conueniency of *Roades*, *Hauens*, and *Harbours*, for performance of all manner of employments; yet is there also found *Showes* of *Pearle*, *Ambergreese*, great numbers of *Whales*, and other merchantable meanes to raise profit to the industrious Inhabitants or diligent Traders.

Heere you may see to what profit our industry and charge hath beene imploied; what benefit our Countrey is like to receiue by it, and whether it bee reason wee should bee so traduced, as we haue been, wee seeking nothing more then the glory of God, the enlarging of his Highnesse Dominions, and generall good of all his Maiesties loyall subiects, and struing for the better accomplishment thereof to keepe Order, and settle Government in those affaires, to preserue from ruine and confusion so faire a foundation, wherein is likely to bee built the goodliest frame that hath euer beene vndertaken to be raised by our Nation.



[30] *The Platforme of the gouernment, and Diuisions of the Territories in generall.*



S there is no Common-wealth that can stand without gouernment, so the best gouernments haue euer had their beginnings from one supreme head, who hath disposed of the administration of Iustice, and execution of publike affaires, either according to lawes established or by the aduice, or counsell of the most eminent, discreetest, and best able in that kinde. The verity of this is so cleere, as it needs no example: for that indeed all nations from the beginning, vnto this present, follow still the same rule in effect, howsoever they vary in the forme, or some small circumstances.

And vpon this generall ground, the Kings of these our Realmes did first lay the foundations of their Monarchies; referuing vnto themselues the soueraigne power of all (as fit it was) and diuiding their kingdomes into Counties, Baronries, Hundreds, and the like; instituted their Lieutenants, or Officers, meet to gouerne those Subdiuisions, that the Subiect might with the more ease receiue iustice, and
the

the Soueraignes at more leasure the better able to dispose of matters of greater consequence.

This foundation being so certaine, there is no rea-
[31] son for vs to vary from it, and therefore we haue
resolved to build our Edifices vpon it, and to frame
the same after the platforme already layd, and from whence
wee take our denomination. So as we purpose to commit
the managing of our whole affaires there in generall, vnto
a Gouenour, to be assisted by the aduice and counsel of so
many of the *Patentees* as shall be there resident, together
with the Officers of State, that is to say; The Treasurer
for the managing of the treasure and reuenues belonging
to that State. The Martiall for matters of Armes, and
affaires of warres, be it defensue or offensue. The Admirall
for maritime businesse ciuill or criminall, and the forces be-
longing to the Sea. The master of the ordnance for muni-
tion, artillery and other prouisions for publique store of
Armies by Sea or Land; as also such other persons of
iudgement and experience, as by the President and Counsell
established here, for the better gouerning of those affaires
shall be thought fit.

By this Head, and these Members, vnited together, the
great affaires of the whole State is to be managed, accord-
ing to their seuerall authorities, giuen them from their Supe-
riours, the President and Councell established as aforesaid.

And for that all men by nature are best pleased to be
their owne caruers, and doe most willingly submit to those
Ordinances, or Orders whereof themselues are authors: it
is therefore resolved, that the generall lawes whereby that
State is to be gouerned, shall be first framed and agreed
vpon

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vpon by the generall assembly of the States of those parts, both Spirituall and Temporall.

For the better distinction whereof, and the more orderly proceeding, agreeable (as is said) to the present State of this our Realme, two parts of the whole Territorie is to be [32] diuided betweene the *Patentees*, into seuerall Counties, to be by themselves or their friends planted, at their pleasure or best commoditie. The other third part is to be referued for publique vses, to be belonging to the State, as their reuenue for defraying of publique charge.

But as well this third part, as the two formerly spoken of, is to be diuided into Counties, Baronries, Hundreds, and the like, from all which the Deputies for euery County, and Baronry, are to be sent in the name and behalfe of the Subjects, vnder them to consult and agree vpon the Lawes so to be framed, as also to reforme any notable abuses committed in former proceedings.

Yet these are not to be assembled, but by order from the President and Councill heere, who are to giue life to the Lawes so to be made, as those to whom of right it best belongs, according to his Maiesties royall grant in that behalfe, as also that vnder God, and his Sacred *Highnesse*, they are the principall Authors of that foundation. And thus much for the generall forme of our Gouvernement.

In like manner are the Counties to be gouerned by the chiefe Head or Deputy thereof with other Officers vnder him. As his Steward, Comptroller, Treasurer of his reuenues; and so the Baronries by their Stewards, and other inferiour minsters, who are to haue assigned them the power of high and low Iustice within themselves for determining
of

of Controuerfies, with referuation of Appeale in fome cafes to the fupreme Courts.

And further, thefe Lords of Counties may of themfelues fubdiuide their faid County into Mannors and Lordfhips, as to them fhall feeme beft, giuing to the Lords thereof power of keeping of Courts, and Leets, as is heere vfed in [33] *England*, for the determining of petty matters, arifing betweene the Lords, and the Tenants, or any other.

And there is no leffe care to be taken for the trade and publique commerce of Merchants, whose gouernment ought to be within themfelues, in refpect of the feuerall occafions arifing betweene them, the tradefmen, and other the Mechanickes, with whom they haue moft to doe: and who are generally the chiefe inhabitants of great Citties, and Townes, in all parts; it is likewise provided, that all the Cities in that Territory, and other inferiour Townes where Tradefmen are in any numbers, fhall be incorporate and made bodies politique, to gouerne their affaires and people as it fhall be found moft behouefull for the publique good of the fame; according vnto the greatnes or capacity of them, who fhall be made likewise capable to fend certaine their Deputies, or Burgeffes to this publique affembly, as members thereof, and who fhall haue voyces equall with any the reft.

BY this you fee our maine drift is but to take care for the well ordering of the bufineffe, seeking by all meanes to auoyd (what we may) the intermedling with any mens monies, or difpofing of any mens fortunes, faue onely our owne; leauing to euery particular vndertaker the employment of their aduentures, and the raifing of their profits,
out

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out of their proper limits, and possessions, as shall seeme best to themselves, or their officers, or ministers, whom they employ, and whom they may be bold to question, or displace, as to themselves shall seeme most fitting.

And hereby all men may know, that as it is not in our wills to delude and deceiue any, so wee are carefull not to giue the least cause of suspicion of any euill in that [34] kinde; so much the rather for that wee daily see by experience, the abuses committed in like cases by inferiour ministers, to be a notable cause to dehort²⁸⁵ the good dispositions of many otherwise well affected to Plantations, for that they obserue those that are so employed to grow rich, and their aduentures to come to nothing.

And wee further desire that all men should bee perswaded, wee couet not to engrosse any thing at all vnto ourselves, but that wee should bee exceeding glad to finde more of our Nation, so free in disposition, as to partake with vs, as well in the profit, as in the future trauell, and charge thereof; without looking backe to our expence, or labour already past, to the end that all our hands being vnited together, the worke may bee so much the sooner aduanced, well knowing and freely confessing, that it is sufficient to giue content to a multitude, and that of all sorts. For such as are truly Pious, shall finde heere the opportunity to put in practise the workes of piety, both in building of Churches, and raising of Colledges for the breeding of youth, or maintenance of Diuines and other learned men. If they be such as affect Glory, and to continue there memory to future ages, they may

²⁸⁵ *To dissuade*: the opposite of *exhort*.

may haue heere the meanes to raise Houſes, Pariſhes, yea Townes, or Prouinces, to their Names and Poſterity. Doe they aime at wealth? heere is the way for their induſtry to ſatiate their appetites in that, if they be not vnſatiable. Doe they long after pleaſure? here is as much to be had as may content any, not meerely voluptuous, or onely prodigall. Doe they aſpire to be Commanders? here is the place where they may haue command of their owne friends, or tenants, if they be of any worth, or meanes extraordinary wherewith to transport any numbers. If otherwiſe of experience and vertue, it is likely they may attaine places of gouernement for the publique State. So as you ſee there wants no [35] occaſions, or opportunity to inuite, or giue ſatiſfaction to ſuch as haue patience to attend the time.

And indeed we ſhall be glad, that this, or any thing elſe may induce a free and noble reſolution, in any well affected perſon, to endeuour the aduancement of theſe ends, together with vs, in that they ſhall finde them agreeable to honour, and honeſtie; and if there bee any that can adde ought vnto our endeuours, by their aduice or otherwiſe, there is none that ſhall more readily embrace the ſame then wee; whoſe intents are onely framed for the proſperity of the buſineſſe, as is already ſaid, and as we hope will all thoſe be, that ſhall aſſent to ioyne with vs, both in the labor, profit, and honour, without reſpect to the weakenefſe of the motiue, by which it hath beene heeretofore mooued, or any thing ſaue the worke it ſelf. For by it you ſhall finde the Honour of our God, our King, and Nation, will bee aduanced, without effuſion of Chriſtian bloud, or queſtion of wrong to the preſent Inhabitants. For that they themſelues both
deſire

desire it, & we intēd not to take ought, but what they that are there, are willing wee should bee seized of, both for the defence of them against their Enemies, and their preservation in peace among themselues, & propagation of the Christian Faith, which with wonderfull alacrity many of them seeme to giue eare vnto, and for whose speedy conuersion wee intend to bee as carefull as of our owne happinesse; and as diligent to build them houses, and to provide them Tutors for thir breeding, and bringing vp of their children, of both sects, as to aduance any other businesse whatsoever, for that wee acknowledge our selues specially bound thereunto. And this being done, to referre the successe, to the Author of Heauen and Earth, to whom be all Honour and glory.

FINIS.





I N D E X.





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